

# Sociology and Social . . . Research . . . AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

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VOL. 43

MAY-JUNE 1959

No. 5

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.50

SINGLE COPIES, 70 CENTS

# Sociology and Social Research

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BIMONTHLY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA  
UNIVERSITY PARK, LOS ANGELES 7, CALIFORNIA

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.50

SINGLE COPIES, 70¢

Entered as second-class matter March 31, 1936, at the post office at Los Angeles, California, under the act of March 3, 1879.

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Articles published in this journal are indexed in *The International Index to Periodicals*, and abstracted in *Sociological Abstracts* and *Psychological Abstracts*.

PUBLISHED BY

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PRESS  
UNIVERSITY PARK  
LOS ANGELES 7, CALIFORNIA

## SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

May-June 1959



### THE SOCIOLOGY OF JOHN L. GILLIN (1871-1958)

STUART A. QUEEN

*Washington University*

John L. Gillin, sixteenth president of the American Sociological Society, was one of a group of vigorous young men trained by Giddings at Columbia in the early years of this century. Gillin, like some others of his day, had come from a small college in the Midwest and had spent several years as a Protestant clergyman. After receiving his Ph.D. in 1906 he was on the faculties of Ashland College, Iowa State College, and, from 1912, the University of Wisconsin. He was the author of nine books and some forty articles. In 1921 Gillin, as Director of Educational Service for the American Red Cross—on leave from the University of Wisconsin—visited me at the Simmons College School of Social Work. From that time on I was proud to count him among my friends.

The thesis of this article, if it needs one, is that John L. Gillin served well through nearly two generations of American sociology. He was a prodigious worker, gathering enormous bodies of concrete data to support, challenge, or revise the similarly large bodies of social theory extant in the early twentieth century but not yet founded on solid facts and clear analysis. During the most active forty years of Gillin's professional career, he grew in the quality of his work and in the range of his influence. Of course, he could hardly be expected to leap from Giddings' consciousness of kind, Ward's synergy, Small's six interests, and Sumner's mores to mid-century group dynamics, role-playing, structural-functional analysis, and sociometry. But he did grow and develop in substantial ways, as I shall demonstrate in the three sections which follow.

From *Poverty and Dependency to Social Pathology*. These two titles symbolize some of the changes in Gillin's frame of reference for dealing with human experiences variously labeled today "deviant be-

havior," "social disorganization," "conflict of values," and the like. When Gillin's professional work began, masses of Americans were struggling to keep the wolf from the door, while middle- and upper-class city dwellers were organizing charities to help the poor out of their misery. Since this was a major issue in American life, it was quite natural for a young Ph.D. in sociology to focus his attention on poverty and philanthropy.

With the trained scholar's predilection for definition and classification, Gillin identified several types of dependency: "natural," as of a child unready to care for himself, or an elderly person no longer able to endure the heat of the day; "customary," as involving the mutual aid of guilds, lodges, and unions; and "legal," as when law reinforces the traditional obligations of family or other group, or when detached persons are aided by the state "in the interest of the general welfare." Gillin also sought to distinguish "normal" and "abnormal" dependency, the former being that which is expected and dealt with according to the folkways and mores, the latter being unexpected and hence requiring some new kind of action. That poverty is a relative thing is clear in his statement about "a person who . . . does not maintain a standard of living high enough . . . to function usefully according to the standards of the society of which he is a member."

In the opening sentence of Chapter I, Gillin offered a clue which might well have been the basis of a very profitable inquiry: "Poverty and dependency did not appear as social problems until tribal society began to give place to civil society." As a Monday morning quarterback, I wish that my friend had followed this lead and searched through available historical and anthropological materials for the factors related to organized public concern about individuals in distress. Certainly non-literate peoples have endured hunger, disease, and varied disasters, but it appears that they had no charitable societies or public assistance programs.

In the book *Poverty and Dependency* (1921) Gillin assembled a large body of important material which was used by many persons in their effort to understand and deal with human beings in distress. But, like other books of the period—my own included—this one contains something of a hodgepodge: the aged, the insane, mothers' pensions, unemployment, state supervision and administration. Let us see how different was *Social Pathology* (second edition, 1939).

Social pathology, said Gillin, "arises out of the maladjustment between the individual and the social structure." The influence may come



from either side. Social change may take the form of invention, new natural resources, "new techniques in political, economic, and social life." Such changes may be disturbing, make people uncomfortable or fearful, or even incite them to riot. But sometimes it is the individual who changes or fails to meet the expectations of his society. This may worry him or other people or both. The "pathology of the individual" may involve physical illness or handicap, mental deficiency or disorder, or violation of the mores, as in alcoholism or prostitution.

Younger sociologists may note with interest the titles to Parts III, IV, and V: "Pathology of Social Organization," "Breakdown of Economic Relationships," and "Pathology of Cultural Relationships." Clearly Gillin was striving to achieve a new frame of reference, one more definitely sociological. But while I think that he made real headway, some of my young friends will be disappointed in his implicit value orientation—pathology implies a norm, nowhere clearly defined by Gillin—his focus on individuals rather than on groups, his concern about social services rather than sociological processes, and his impressionistic interpretation of causation. I fear they will judge him academico-centrally from the standpoint of their 1959 sophistication, rather than in terms of *his* starting point and *his* achievement.

From *Taming the Criminal* to *The Wisconsin Prisoner*. In the Introduction to *The Wisconsin Prisoner* Gillin wrote, "Ever since my graduate school days I have been interested in the criminal." In fact, the time he devoted to study of delinquency and its treatment, and the three books he published in this field, are evidence of his major concern with criminology.

Actually, his first book in this area was the general textbook *Criminology and Penology* (1926), but "logically" *Taming the Criminal* (1931) should precede, since it is a descriptive account of his visits to prisons in several countries of Europe and Asia, plus some states of our own country.

In *Criminology and Penology* Gillin offered the usual legal definition of crime as "any action by an individual in contravention of law." But he added a sociological definition which, for 1926, was quite significant: "Crime is an act which is *believed* to be socially harmful by a group of people which has the power to enforce its beliefs, and which places such act under the ban of positive penalties." However, he did not discuss the possible applicability of this definition to churches, trade unions, and other groups not organized as states.

About a fourth of this book was devoted to "the making of the criminal," and three fourths to "history of punishment," "penal institutions," and "the machinery of justice." In the treatment of causation Gillin discussed categories of supposed factors, after the fashion of that day, rather impressionistically. Thus he wrote of the "indirect influence of the physical environment," the high proportion of feeble-minded, epileptic, and constitutional inferiors, and physical abnormalities. Under economic factors he laid special stress on unemployment and occupations which provide "opportunities for committing different kinds of crimes." But he missed Sutherland's "white collar crime." However, he did make a real start toward describing the "mechanisms by which economic conditions influence criminality." (See pages 142-43 of the 1935 edition.) Also he gave a rather good account of the relation of culture conflict to emotional conflict, and of both to delinquency. On the other hand, his discussion of broken homes, "lack of wholesome recreation," "lack of proper direction," use of alcohol and narcotics did not go much beyond popular impressions of the 1920's.

In 1946 Gillin published *The Wisconsin Prisoner*, a research monograph that represented a marked advance over the two earlier books. His principal hypothesis was "that the early experiences of prisoners have a bearing on their later involvement with the law." He gathered his data by examining prison records, by interviewing prisoners and other persons who could provide information, and by inducing some of the men to write autobiographies in accordance with a mimeographed outline which he provided. His sample included practically all "lifers" at the Wisconsin State Penitentiary, all sentenced for rape or sodomy, and every third prisoner sentenced for a crime against property. Then he gathered corresponding data about brothers of 172 convicts, so that he might discover differences between criminal and noncriminal siblings. He also showed some differences between prisoners and the total male population of Wisconsin.

Space forbids a detailed review of the differences which were found to be statistically significant. We can only report that these include such factors as attachment to mother, job stability, marital status, and marital conflict. In his concluding chapter Gillin listed "conditions that seem to create a hazard" and "circumstances that appear to have a steadying effect"—both more modest and more useful than the impressionistic statements of his earlier books.

From *Outlines of Sociology to Cultural Sociology*. The friends of John L. Gillin—and he had many—have probably wished that his pro-

professional growth and contributions had been as great in general sociology as in the field of social problems, and especially in criminology. But even here there was development.

*Outlines of Sociology* (1915), written with Frank W. Blackmar, was not very different from the texts of Hayes, Ellwood, and others of the period. It set forth as a goal "to describe society as we find it, ascertain how it developed," not guessing but gathering live facts, not restricting ourselves to the United States but studying "the world around," "ascertaining how men actually live in groups," and "noticing the processes by which relationships are established." Despite this brave declaration, the *Outlines* turned out to be pretty much a collection of generalizations, some rather hazy, illustrated rather than established by varied sorts of data.

In the chapter on "Social Origins and Evolution" there is easily seen the influence of evolutionism, against which anthropologists were already rebelling. In discussing "the Aims of Society" the authors displayed their subjective value orientation. "Sociology," they said, "attempts to ascertain not only the ends which serve social welfare, but to understand by scientific methods the ways in which these aims may be realized. By means of these ideals progress is possible."

In *Cultural Sociology* (1948), written with his anthropologist son, John P. Gillin, our discipline is defined as "the study of interaction arising from the association of living beings." Its basic assumptions are "the essential orderliness of the universe," and the possibility of studying social relationships as "natural phenomena." Such study, the Gillins told us, calls for objectivity, patience, hard work, skepticism concerning popular beliefs, and creative imagination. Fallacies to be avoided include the ideas (1) that we know social reality because we live in it, (2) that all knowledge must have an immediate practical application, (3) that repeated concomitance or sequence establishes a causal relationship, (4) that science is impossible without laboratory or experimentation. Surely these ideas represent a long day's journey beyond anything in the *Outlines*.

But when we come to specific discussion of social institutions and processes, our enthusiasm is a bit dampened. Let me illustrate this from Chapter 28 on "Social Control." This is defined as "that system of measures . . . by which a society brings into conformity to the approved pattern of behavior a subgroup, or by which a group molds into conformity its members." The need for social control arises out of variations among individuals and among groups, maladjustments (related to cir-

cumstances as diverse as insanity and immigration), conflicts of values, and cultural change. The agencies of social control include beliefs, suggestion through example and propaganda, religion, social ideals, ceremony, art, leadership, intellectual factors, education, law, administration, and force. To me this is a crude list of overlapping and poorly identified items which may appear in the operation of social control. And discussion of "results of social control on values and institutions" is even more disappointing. Instead of important generalizations based on empirical data, we are offered a warning that through "certain violent methods of social control . . . our fundamental institutions are threatened," and "too much control may result in loss of values."

Thus *Cultural Sociology* employed some new words and some new data, but not very different ways of handling them. Like the *Outlines of Sociology*, it was a sort of social philosophy, eclectic in the use of concepts and concrete illustrations, with a North American, middle-class value orientation. However, it would be unfair to expect Gillin to have made himself over into a Kingsley Davis, Ronald Freedman, or Leonard Broom. Who of us can really renew his intellectual life with two separate generations?

In conclusion, John L. Gillin made a real contribution to the development of our growing discipline through research, writing, and teaching. In addition, he was a friendly person, genuinely interested in other people, ready to listen to their views and eager to be helpful. By those who had the privilege of personal contact, he will be missed. Those who have come lately to the field will do well to learn how Gillin and others of his generation helped to build American sociology.

# A CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEORY OF CULTURE CHANGE

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In everyday experience culture changes are evident which occur without the awareness of the people involved (who, for instance, pick up a local mannerism or develop new fashionable interests). They receive little attention because they seem too unimportant or too familiar to us. My attention was drawn to such changes, rather incidentally, during World War II. At that time the Germans attempted to impose their culture on the occupied nations. At the beginning only a very small number of opportunists accepted some traits of the Nazi culture. But, to my surprise, later on even some honest individuals accepted bona fide some of its traits. They did it often unconsciously, unwittingly, and without thinking about it. The changes in their convictions occurred unconsciously and to a certain extent remained unconscious.

Since that time I have given attention to the unconscious acceptance of new cultural traits and to unconscious culture changes in general. I felt that the explanations of concrete culture changes as well as the general theories of culture changes were not rigorous enough. Each of the theories made one omission: they did not give enough or any attention to the unconscious processes of the human mind, which, in my opinion, may explain a substantial portion of the unknown causes of culture process.

Let us discuss briefly the most important unconscious processes of the human mind which are relevant to culture change.

## BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

1. *Perceiving.* From a number of experiments,<sup>1</sup> it may be seen that subliminal sensations may influence our behavior, particularly if there are many sensations of the same kind. The subliminal experiences may summate; a good example of such summation is the general impression the speaker forms of the audience; small changes in the facial and eye expressions of a mass of relatively distant individuals may produce the impression of interest, indifference, surprise, or resentment. The speaker may not know how to substantiate such an impression.

<sup>1</sup> See J. G. Miller, *Unconsciousness* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942), pp. 149, 151, 152.

More important are marginal perceptions which are strong enough to reach the realm of consciousness but do not do so because of lack of attention. These furnish rich information about people around us. Due to them we feel, after coming to our office, that everything is as usual or that a new acquaintance is not a really dependable person or that our boss was pleased by our work, though in none of these cases was there a conscious reason for such a feeling.

Both subliminal and marginal perceptions yield a continuous flow of information about the social life around us, and we draw conclusions from them which may unconsciously change our personal values and behavior patterns. If similar small-scale changes are produced by similar external causes in a number of people and these changes become objects of social interaction, they may result in permanent culture change.

2. *Use of Forgotten and Unrecollected Experiences.* Even forgotten experiences leave traces which may influence our behavior. Many of our seemingly irrational attitudes are based on experiences we have forgotten. Likewise, we often use as our own a number of ideas, arguments, or reasons we have heard or read previously but have forgotten. Sometimes we imitate social models we have watched years ago, without being able to recall them. We make correct estimates of the size or weight of objects, though we have completely forgotten our previous experience with objects of similar size or weight upon which we base our estimate.

We do not recall hundreds of well-known facts in our physical and social environment, though we act as if we thought of them. We act as fathers, teachers, or citizens with certain rights without often recalling that we are these. Likewise, we unconsciously act according to certain stable or new conditions such as the assumption that we live in the twentieth century, that we are married, that we were promoted, etc.

Forgotten experiences, then, may lead to new behavior patterns of a large number of people, and unrecollected changes in the social life may change social values or other culture patterns.

3. *Learning.* Unconscious, unwitting learning from watching people or by handling objects may lead to culture changes. Lower-class people may unconsciously learn certain upper-class subcultural patterns (besides learning other upper-class patterns consciously). We become skillful photographers by taking a large number of pictures, without knowing how we developed certain parts of our skill. We also learn, often unconsciously, how to adjust to new physical or social conditions. If many people learn the same skills a new cultural pattern may arise.



4. *Habit, Routine, Automatic Behavior.* Habit, routine, and automatic behavior are also often established unconsciously. If changed or newly developed in a number of people, they may produce culture change.

5. *Imitation.* We unconsciously imitate a number of behavior patterns such as simple gestures, phrases, uses of certain implements, and many other patterns, which may be performed without learning. The imitated behavior patterns of a leading individual or a group may be accepted as new cultural patterns.

Likewise, unconscious imitation may produce acceptance of a new invention or of a foreign cultural pattern (diffusion) and thus bring cultural change.

6. *Thinking.* We have mentioned already one of the unconscious thinking processes, unconscious assumptions. But there are a number of others. Every day we make, for instance, hundreds of comparisons without consciously comparing. We know that our boss is in a better mood today than yesterday, that one person is more capable than another, or that one performance is more strenuous than another.

Likewise, people make unconscious judgments. For instance, they feel directly and without gathering the necessary facts and judging them that the rewarded student well deserves the reward. In other instances they may know all the relevant facts but produce the judgment without any conscious thinking. Either of the judgments appears in the form of a convincing "feeling." "Feelings" of this kind may produce culture changes: it may be generally felt that it is no longer necessary to be as formal as previously, or that the previously usual behavior pattern in general no longer seems adequate.

Generalization, transfer, and the drawing of conclusions are also largely unconscious. If permanently shared by a number of people, all three may lead to culture changes which may be either gradual and inconspicuous or fast and easily noticeable.

The unconscious establishment of a frame of reference from the behavior of the members of the group has been well demonstrated by M. Sherif. Human personality produces an enormous number of them from all kinds of behavior of other people. Through reaction or assimilation to the frame of reference, new subcultural or cultural traits may be established or the old ones modified.

Another kind of relevant unconscious thinking process is what we call the computing service. The human mind establishes automatically a more or less correct figure about how many times a certain event occurred. This happens even if we are not especially interested in the

event. Thus we know that in the last month we went to 'movies about three times, that in the last year we got about ten letters from our friend, or that during our vacation we went swimming about a dozen times. The computing service, which is generally completely unconscious, helps change many social norms, values (especially fads), attitudes, and other cultural patterns. The mere unconscious cognizance of a less frequent occurrence of a culture pattern weakens it and a more frequent occurrence strengthens it. A more or less frequent occurrence of an event also changes the social attitudes toward it, its social value, and the norms of behavior toward it.

7. *Establishment of Sentiments and Social Ties.* It is well known that group life produces certain emotional experiences. These may eventually change the appropriate part of the culture such as patterns of acceptable emotions or emotional expressions. Football fans have developed new emotional patterns which had not been in existence in Western culture previously. They have been unconsciously produced by common excitement of the masses of onlookers.

Repeated emotional experiences of a certain kind may also unconsciously produce a new sentiment, which may become an enduring part of culture. The repeated strong frustrations of the local population by the German occupants in World War II produced an enduring hatred of Germans.

All of these processes are largely unconscious. We are either wholly or only partially unaware of them, but sooner or later their product—the new sentiment—may come into awareness.

As a rule, all the above-discussed processes are supported by other concurrent psychic processes or social-psychological factors. Social learning, for instance, is supported by thinking processes, norms, levels of aspiration, group belongingness, and by certain social values and depends on certain social concepts, expectations, pressures, and so on. Its product, then, is rather a complex social-psychological configuration.

Configuration to the writer is any psychological structure organized permanently or temporarily from a number of psychic or social-psychological components. The Gestalts of the Gestaltist school are only one kind of these, as we shall see later.

In the previously discussed configurations, generally one basic factor is the leading component. In a sentiment, for instance, it is its emotional content, while the appropriate norms, concepts, etc., are secondary components. Nevertheless, there are other configurations in which two or more components are leading, while other components have only a secondary role.

## CONFIGURATIONS WITH SEVERAL LEADING COMPONENTS

1. *Attitudes.* Besides a strong emotional content (which makes them similar to emotions), attitudes generally have a strong conative component aiming at a certain reaction to the appropriate object, person, group, or situation and include a rather clear conception of the object. Many attitudes also include appropriate psychological sets. Besides these leading components, some other, secondary ones may be included in their structure as, for instance, habits, unrecalled, forgotten, and subliminal experiences, learned behavior, and the like.

Social attitudes may develop from similar personal attitudes of a number of persons through reshaping, through group stimulation, interaction, and assimilation. Other social attitudes develop through imitation, social pressure, and learning as well as through the creative power of common group activities. All of these processes may be unconscious.

Changes in attitudes may result in culture changes that are noticed only after they have occurred.

2. *Values.* The leading components of a value may be, for instance, the prestige of an object (old china or an old violin), the need for it (for display at home or for playing), and the emotional attachment to it (it has been in the family for generations). Generally, values have another main component: preference of higher valued to lower valued objects. Frequently they include also moral and aesthetic judgments, legal concepts, attitudes (or some of their above-mentioned components), assumptions, and expectations (for instance, that we may use the object for years, that it will be useful to our family, etc.) as main or as secondary components.

The organization of the components into a value configuration is often unconscious. So may be the product of the organizing process—the value itself. We simply deal with the valued object according to the valuation which occurred without our awareness. Changes in social values, of course, mean changes in culture.

3. *Norms and Obligations.* Though similar to each other, obligations are not formulated as such, whereas norms are. Obligations may be unconscious derivatives of certain social ties or attitudes, or they may be (often unconsciously) established through generalization, transfer, reasoning, or other processes. We may not know that we have certain specific obligations toward a friend of ours. But when he gets into trouble, we feel we have to help him. Likewise, our "feelings" tell us that our help has to go to a certain limit but not farther. The basic framework of such an obligation has evidently been established previously

to our helping the person. His friendly behavior toward us, his prestige, his personal qualities, his attractive personality, and our social or business relations toward him may be the leading parts of this framework, complemented by the state of our finances, by the attitude of our wife toward him, etc., as secondary components.

Not being clearly formulated, the obligations change easily. They are very sensitive to all the changes in our physical and social environment, as well as to the changes in our own situation. They are in a state of continuous reshaping. Whenever this occurs in a number of individuals, certain modifications in culture content are induced.

Though formulated and generally conscious, norms may be based on unconsciously developed obligations. Likewise, certain components of norms and their interpretation may be unconscious.

#### ORGANIZATION AND MAINTENANCE OF CONFIGURATIONS

Knowledge of the personality's ability to organize configurations is rather limited. The Gestaltists have not gone much farther than analyzing perceptions and insight and giving a very limited treatment to learning and emotions.

It seems that, tentatively, configurations may be classified into four groups. Into the first category may be put those produced by psychological laws. The second category includes configurations produced by culture. The personality may develop specific configurations of its own; this will be the third category. Finally, there are other specific configurations based on the unique conditions of the group.

The perception of an interrupted circular line as a circle is an example of the first category. Linguistic patterns are examples of the second type. An example of a personal configuration is the high valuation of a novelist who is not valued by other people. A group in a minority condition which develops special configurations of its own is an instance of the fourth category.

The most important configurations for the life of culture are those of the second, third, and fourth types. The second type is basic for the existence and maintenance of culture. Cultural traits consist chiefly of configurations of this kind. The third type is basic to changes of culture. Also the special group configurations may influence culture changes.

As a rule, the components of a configuration are held together by the continuing existence of the condition (or conditions) which initiated the process of organization and the meaning that the configuration has for the individual and the group. But some of the components of the con-

figuration may develop their own reasons for existence, and by this they may considerably support the whole structure. Such are, for instance, habits, learned behavior, concepts, and possibly other components. They may maintain the configuration even when it does not suit the changing conditions. Cultural lags and survivals are due partly to these factors.

The continuous, generally unconscious, knowing of the existence of the conditions which stimulated the establishment of the configuration generally maintains it in full strength. A frequent and repeated checking on them, generally automatic and unconscious, is one of the important characteristics of the personality. Any possible change in any relevant condition may induce the appropriate (though often unconscious) restructuring or abandonment of the configuration.

The most important property of configurations is that each of them operates as a whole when conditions suitable for their operation arise. Nevertheless, even this property is flexible. For the sake of better functioning, some of the components of the configuration may momentarily occupy a more important place than others in accordance with the requirements of the situation. Thus, religiousness may display more of its emotional components or more of its refined conceptual aspects according to the situation and to the nature of the group in which we currently participate. Likewise, patriotism may be more sentimental than rationalistic or vice versa, according to the situation.

#### BEHAVIOR OF THE PERSONALITY AS A WHOLE

All the unconscious processes discussed above help to regulate the relation of the personality toward its environment. The human personality is an uninterrupted stream of a large number of such processes,<sup>2</sup> some of which cooperate and produce new configurations, readjust the old ones, and appropriately use the existing ones.

This continuous and rich stream enables the personality to meet the physical, social, and cultural necessities and harmonize them with the satisfaction of its own needs and wishes. It enables the individual to be a full member of his group, his society, and his culture by participating in and shaping the life of all of these.

The stream of spontaneous automatic processes operates as long as the person is alive. It may perhaps be compared to an imaginary factory incessantly producing the goods required by the market. The (per-

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Kelly says: "... the person is not an object which is temporarily in a moving state but is himself a form of motion" (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., *The Psychology of Personal Constructs*, 1955), p. 48.

sonality) factory spontaneously adapts to the changing requirements of the market, for the most part without any supervision by conscious mental processes, and creates new products. The variety of products is incomparably larger than in any existing factory, and the social situations to which these are to be adapted are generally much more complex than any market situation. The adaptations and new creations do not cover only one (economic) field but a number of very different fields. They are not guided by only one motive (profit) but by a large number of motives, needs, pressures, and cultural requirements, and by many of these often simultaneously. Likewise, the appropriate distribution of products (use of configurations) is generally unconscious.

The picture of the total personality acting and reacting (to a large extent unconsciously) amidst the totality of the physical, social, and cultural conditions is what neither sociology nor anthropology, social psychology, personology, or psychology has given to us yet. Doubtless such a picture is long overdue, and it may be that the future development of these sciences will produce it gradually. It is of utmost importance for the understanding of the life of society and culture. Only such a picture of personality can explain the creation and maintenance of culture, the personality's enjoyment of it, its living in it and for it.

The unconscious structuring ability of the human mind using unconscious factors and processes to produce configurations is the fantastic workshop where so many cultural changes are produced. Here, with the help of group interactions, and other social processes, the new cultural patterns are formed and kept alive. Here also they may be reshaped or discarded if necessary. This unconscious personality workshop constitutes the long-sought-after link between personality and culture.

Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to indicate the laws of the operation of this workshop. These are to be discovered by empirical research. The major aim in this paper has been to point out the need for research in this unexplored area as well as to denote its direction.



## SELF-TATTOOING AMONG DELINQUENTS A RESEARCH NOTE

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The culture trait of tattooing has a long history and is widespread throughout the world. The only scientific studies which have been reported are by anthropologists, who have concerned themselves with primitive societies. At least one generalization seems clear: generally tattooing appears to be a subcultural practice found in particular population categories (class, occupation, age, sex, etc.) rather than an established trait uniformly characteristic of a whole society. Little except of a popular nature has been written about tattooing among people of Western European extraction.

Nonstatistical, lay reports of the situation in America, commonly based on interviews with professional tattooers, suggest the following: (1) possibly one person in ten has a tattoo; (2) three to five times as many men are tattooed as women; (3) the basic motive is exhibitionistic; (4) the frequency rises in periods of crises, large-scale movements, the "holiday spirit"; (5) tattooing occurs most often when the client has been drinking; and (6) about one third of the tattooer's work involves requests to erase, cover, or "clean up" existing tattoos.<sup>1</sup>

On a preliminary basis it seems reasonable to hypothesize that in our culture persons who have certain types of self-concepts will be more likely to tattoo themselves than persons with other self-concepts. Because of the increasing significance of self-concepts in the study of delinquency,<sup>2</sup> it becomes a matter of interest whether or not there may be a relationship between the self-concepts related to delinquency and those related to self-tattooing. Although no analysis of this possible relationship has been made, Marshall Clinard and others have commented on it.

Before a major study of the possible relationship of various self-concepts to delinquency and to self-tattooing can be undertaken, it is first necessary to prove that a significant amount of tattooing does, in fact, occur among delinquents. The pilot study reported here attempts

<sup>1</sup> H. Ebersten, *Pierced Hearts and True Love* (London: Verschoyle, 1953); *Literary Digest*, March 27, 1937, pp. 22 ff; "Skins and Needles," *Time*, 41:65, March 1, 1943; "War Booms the Tattooing Art," *New York Times*, Section M, p. 38, September 19, 1943; "Old Tattooer Talks Shop," *Science Digest*, 17: 21-23, March 1945; "Jap Gamblers Tattoo Selves," *Life*, 20: 12-14, March 11, 1946.

<sup>2</sup> For example, W. C. Reckless, S. Dinitz, B. Kay, "The Self Component in Potential Delinquency and Potential Non-Delinquency," *American Sociological Review*, 22:566-60, October 1957.

to do this, and in addition to learn something of the kinds of tattoos which exist; how, why, and under what circumstances the tattooing occurred; and something of the delinquent's attitude toward his tattoos. This study is neither definitive nor complete, yet it does present considerable data on the basis of which the hypotheses for a more conclusive study might be constructed.

Subjects for this report were inmates of the New Mexico Boys Training School, the Iowa Training School for Boys, and the Harwood School for delinquent girls at Albuquerque, New Mexico. In none of these institutions were all inmates or even all tattooed inmates interviewed. This might cast doubt upon the validity of some of the findings were it not that most of the data related not to persons, but to individual tattoos, of which well over 900 were observed and on 883 of which data were secured.<sup>3</sup>

The most overwhelming of the findings was that these were amateur "self-tattoos"; less than one half of 1 per cent were applied by professionals. Over two thirds were applied by the person himself, and the others by a boy or girl friend, sometimes on a "swapping" basis. Over 90 per cent were made by the use of ordinary sewing needle and India ink. Occasionally a razor blade or knife and fountain pen ink or graphite were used, usually because needle and India ink were temporarily unavailable.

Because not all inmates could be examined, no true statistical proportions of tattooed and nontattooed could be determined. The most accurate estimate the author can make is that at the New Mexico boys' school about 2 in 3 boys were tattooed, at the Iowa boys' school about 1 in 6 was tattooed, at the New Mexico girls' school possibly 1 in 3 was tattooed, and at the Iowa girls' training school, where only a cursory investigation was conducted, only about 1 in 25 was tattooed.

The data on number of tattoos per person were only exploratory, owing to less than 100 per cent coverage and the fact that a person with only 1 tattoo was more likely to be overlooked than a person with 10. However, the data are as follows: for the New Mexico boys (over 90 per cent coverage), the number of tattoos ranged from 1 to 25, and the median number was 5; for the Iowa boys (80 per cent coverage), the range was 1 to 14, and the median was 3; for the New Mexico girls (probably 60 per cent coverage), the range was 2 to 25, and the median was 10. These data show incontrovertibly that a large number of delinquents did have a significantly large number of tattoos.

<sup>3</sup> Special thanks for their assistance is due Rupert Trujillo, Ted Fiebiger, Marie Aiken, Jean Fowler, Arthur Tenorio, Jack DeRyke, and Elvira Pacheco.

The location of the 883 tattoos was determined with accuracy: about 32 per cent were between the wrist and the elbow, 23 per cent on the hands, about 17 per cent between elbow and shoulder, and the remainder on the fingers, face, and other parts of the body. The boys were considerably less likely to have tattoos where shirt sleeves could not cover their arms. The girls' samples showed them to have a higher proportion than the boys in visible spots like hands, fingers, and face, and also on their legs and thighs. Two thirds of all tattoos were on the left side and 80 per cent on the outer parts of arms. The single most common spot was between the thumb and forefinger on the left hand. None of the Iowa boys interviewed had face tattoos; 15 per cent of the New Mexico girls interviewed had 1 or more, and a full count of the New Mexico boys showed 12 per cent to have 1 or more such tattoos. Those who had only 1 or 2 tattoos usually had them where they could be covered up by shirt sleeves. Those with face tattoos usually had a considerable number of other tattoos, also.

By far the most common marks consisted of letters, most often the subject's own initials, but frequently the initials of a girl or boy, "Mom," or other words. Symbols were also frequent, with the most common being some variation of the "pachuco cross." Eight per cent of the tattoos studied had been left incomplete. Less than 1 per cent of the tattoos could be considered lewd in character. A number of tattoos had been marked out by new tattooing or by scars.

The interviewers attempted to learn the meaning of each tattoo, but with less than complete success. Frequently the answers were clear: "my initials," "my girl's initials," "all our gang had this," "pachuco cross." Often, however, the answers were vague, and, even discounting for evasiveness, it seems clear that many of the marks have little if any real significance and are in fact "just marks," much as ordinary 10- or 12-year-olds draw on their arms in schoolrooms throughout the nation—that is, except for the boys' initials on girls' arms, and vice versa, and for true gang symbols (which probably fail to exceed 10 per cent), the actual "content" of the tattoo seems of little use in analyzing self-concepts; certainly it seems less important than the fact of the tattooing itself. The chief exception seems to be the "pachuco cross" which, at least throughout the Southwest, has wide currency and is widely recognized by adults and by nondelinquents as well as by delinquents. It does serve as a gang sign for a few scattered groups, but it certainly does not indicate any nation-wide gang. That it does serve as a recognition sign for reference groups seems widely true. That is to say, a youngster in Albuquerque with a "pachuco cross" on his left hand may not belong to

any gang at all, but if he moves to Los Angeles, or even Chicago, this symbol will serve to make it easier for him to set up relationships with some peer groups and more difficult with others. As a generalization it may be said that the subjects usually were far more concerned with the neatness or artistry of their tattoos than with their symbolism.

For all three groups the age at first tattooing was early. The age range for the New Mexico boys and girls was from six to eighteen years, and for the Iowa boys eleven to seventeen. For each of the three groups the median age was fourteen and the modal age was fifteen. Exactly 100 of the 883 tattoos were acquired before their owners were in their teens.

As to the circumstances under which the tattoo was made, no information is available for the Iowa boys, but for the New Mexico boys and girls, over 40 per cent were applied in their own homes or the homes of friends, with about an equal number being acquired while in a training school or jail (despite rigid training school rules). None resulted from formal gang initiation.

The majority of tattoos, at least according to the informants, were applied "for fun," because of "wanting something to do," "just fooling around," "no particular reason." For those tattoos for which a clear reason could be elicited, the chief reason given by girls was because of a boy friend, with copying someone they saw, as the second reason. For boys, gang reasons and girl friends were the two chief motivations. Some informants indicated that when a boy or girl in tattooing used someone's initials, usually either sexual intimacy had occurred or "they want you to think it had."

About half of each group indicated all or most of their friends had tattoos, and about half had brothers who were tattooed. Nearly half of the girls and nearly one fourth of the New Mexico boys said they had sisters who were tattooed, but only 4 per cent of the Iowa boys had tattooed sisters. About one half of each group stated as their immediate reaction to their tattooing that they "felt good," were proud, or felt "tough." About one fourth of the individuals of each group suffered remorse shortly after the tattooing. Questions were asked concerning the reaction of the subject's family to his tattooing, but the results could not be handled statistically because in a large number of cases the subject's parents still did not know, or the subject had no parents. In less than 5 per cent of the cases was the parent's reaction strongly unfavorable. In most cases where the subject's family knew about it, he was "fussed at" but not punished.

The subjects were also asked which tattoo they liked best, which least, whether they would like to have any tattoos removed and whether they expected to put on other tattoos later. The replies to these queries overlapped considerably, were conflicting in some cases, and frequently were hedged by "if." In each group the great majority judged the quality of tattooing and what the tattoo stands for as being paramount. Tattoos that were neat or artistic were liked; those that were of poor quality or incomplete were disliked. A considerable group of tattoos were disliked because they did not apply now—have a new girl or boy friend, moved from town, gang broke up.

Removal of all tattoos was desired by 75 per cent of the boys and 60 per cent of the girls. About 1 in 10 boys and 1 in 6 girls did not want any tattoos removed, and the remainder wanted some removed and some to remain. One in 3 girls said she "probably might" have more tattoos put on later, as compared to about 1 in 5 boys. The reasons given for wishing the removal of some or all tattoos were many, varied, and often vague. The two clearest and most common reasons were that they interfered with job possibilities, and that the particular tattoos were themselves unsightly and/or of poor quality. When asked why *other* boys had tattoos, the three most commonly given answers were: first, gang affiliation (although this varied from 45 per cent of the New Mexico boys to 5 per cent of the Iowa boys); second, that it made them feel "big" and "tough"; and third, copying others. In general, the boys seemed to show little insight into why girls were tattooed, but when urged to guess, their guesses matched the reasons actually given by the girls, namely, gang affiliation and boy friends.

Although this study is obviously an exploratory one, the author would like to conclude with the following general hypotheses: (1) Significantly more delinquents than nondelinquents tattoo themselves. (2) Significantly more boys than girls tattoo themselves, but when girls tattoo themselves they use at least as many tattoos as do boys. (3) The idea of tattooing oneself occurs to some people early, and is carried out at an early age, probably without much thought for the future. (4) Tattooing frequently, but not always, serves as a status symbol in certain peer groups, and it is only later that the subject realizes it is a negative status symbol in other groups. (5) Once tattooed, subsequent tattoos are put on with less compunction. (6) There is a close relationship between the kind of symbols most boys and girls *draw* on their arms and the symbols *tattooed* on by delinquents. (7) Self-tattooing is partial, but not certain, evidence of gang membership. (8) For some delinquents, tattooing is the result of certain self-concepts, and hence is a partial index of such concepts.

## THE DIVISION OF LABOR AMONG COMMUNAL GROUPS: A FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION

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This paper assays a classification of the functions performed by communal groups. As herein employed, the term *communal group* refers to that conceptually discrete organizational system, constructed by the inhabitants of a socially defined area or locality, which becomes functionally integrated around the problems and issues arising in the collective occupation and exploitation of the physical space comprising the defined area.<sup>1</sup> This definition, it may be noted, rests upon a classification of organizational systems based on considerations of the functions performed by the unit in question, i.e., the contribution it makes to the larger social system in which it is implicated, rather than upon considerations of its structural properties as is the case in the *gemeinschaft-gesellschaft*, primary-secondary, and other traditional classificatory schemes.

Accordingly, inasmuch as such organizational structures as the neighborhood, the district, the city, the county may be regarded as being integrated around the goals, objectives, and values arising in the collective occupation and exploitation of an area of given size and given symbolic identity, they may be conceived as falling into a single, more general type of organizational structure called *communal*—a type which can be further distinguished from other general types such as the recreational and commercial. Within the limits of this general type, however, there is evident a cultural ordering of socially defined areas involving greater and lesser degrees of spatial inclusiveness as well as a logical and symbolic ordering of the organizational units corresponding to each such culturally recognized spatial level.<sup>2</sup> For clarity of exposition, there-

<sup>1</sup> The notion of community as a functional type of social group or social system derives from Hiller's system of postulates relating to community. See E. T. Hiller, "The Community as a Social Group," *American Sociological Review*, 6: 189-202.

<sup>2</sup> The notion of multiple levels of communal organization, ranging from the household, seen as the smallest communal unit in an expanding hierarchy, to the nation as a whole, at the apex of the hierarchy, appears as a logical projection both from Hiller's definition of community and from the theoretical principles and typologies employed by R. M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, *Society: An*



fore, the nominally discrete organizational unit corresponding to each level of spatial inclusiveness will be termed the *communal group*; variations in the type of communal group corresponding to socially defined areas of varying degree of spatial inclusiveness will be articulated by reference to the notion of *levels of communal organization*.

The classification of communal group functions here suggested developed out of a research in progress concerning the use of time and space at various levels of communal organization and the problems of coordinating their activities in time and in space which confront the membership of communal groups. These activities may be regarded as problematic on both the intragroup and intergroup levels of communal organization comprising what the writer has elsewhere termed a system of habitational institutions.<sup>3</sup> In other words, the pursuit of the above-mentioned research objective, predicated as it is upon an organizational or sociocultural frame of reference, unavoidably necessitated a prior resolution of the problem concerning the particular functions culturally assigned to each of the several levels of communal organization as well as an understanding of the mechanisms which govern this division of labor between diverse levels or types of communal groups.

A search of the sociological literature relating to community disclosed that few attempts at systematic classification of these phenomena had as yet been reported. Moreover, such classificatory schemes of communal functions as were found proved of little operational utility for the problem in hand. Their utility proved limited for the reason that these schemes were derived from other definitions of community or other frames of reference than the one employed in the current research project. As it turned out, they either were entirely confined to the city or metropolitan community levels or were inclusive of all functions performed in the local society corresponding to these levels.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Henry Zentner, "Logical Difficulties in Relating the Concepts of Community, Society, and Institutions," *Alpha Kappa Delta*, 28: 35-36.

<sup>4</sup> Such a classification appears in Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, *American Urban Communities* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), pp. 261 ff. A conceptual distinction between community, as a limited and specific group which is integrated around the problems of occupying the locality, and the local society, which refers to all other systems of social relationships constructed by the inhabitants of the socially defined area, appears in Hiller, *op. cit.*

*Introductory Analysis* (New York: Rinehart, 1949); David Snedden, "Communities, Associate and Federate," *American Journal of Sociology*, 28: 681-93; and Betty W. Starr, "Levels of Communal Relations," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60: 125-36. These several propositions are analyzed and more fully developed by the writer elsewhere. See Henry Zentner, "Toward a Reconstruction of Community Theory," *Alpha Kappa Delta*, 27: 28-32, and "Logical Difficulties in Relating the Concepts of Community, Society, and Institutions," *Alpha Kappa Delta*, 28: 28-37.

Approached from the standpoint of the premises and postulates constituting the frame of reference cited above, however, it appeared that what was required for the purpose in hand was a classificatory scheme which would serve to articulate those culturally assigned functions which are *unavoidably* associated with inhabitation of given types of socially defined spatial or habitational units. That is to say, what was needed was a classification of the spatially endemic functions performed by given types of communal groups, seen in abstraction from control, coordination, communication, education, and other group functions which are necessarily, though variably, performed by the group qua communal group as a consequence of occupying and exploiting a given habitational space. In the absence of any existing classification of such a stamp, the construction of a tentative classification of the major space-related functions culturally assigned to each specific communal group in the series comprising the habitational system as a whole had of necessity to be undertaken before a precise specification of data requisite to the research could be undertaken.

Preliminary analysis and general observation suggested that each of the several levels of communal organization in the series evidenced a somewhat unique cluster of space-related functions. Nevertheless, a number of general classes of functions appeared to be common to all levels of communal organization. Included were (1) protection of persons and property, (2) the production and consumption of *certain* limited categories of economic goods and services, (3) provisions for the maintenance of sanitary standards, (4) provisions for the maintenance of health, (5) the provision of transit avenues and/or facilities, (6) the provision of recreational facilities, (7) the provision of certain welfare services, (8) the provision of communication facilities, and (9) provisions for the administration of justice (in the generic sense and including informal procedures).

Despite the possibility of certain unique functions on some or all levels of communal organization, it would appear that the nine general classes enumerated have the property not only of abstract logical independence but also of empirically observable behavioral manifestations. Nevertheless, having selected the present level of abstraction for the purpose of constructing a general classificatory scheme, it was immediately apparent that each of the nine general categories comprising the system would necessarily subsume a large number of diverse subclasses.

The general class relating to the maintenance of health, for example, would be divisible immediately into physical and mental subclasses.

Each of these, in turn, would entail further subclasses, and so on. The physical subclass, for example, would include behavior patterns relating to medication, exercise, dieting, ventilation, and numerous others. The mental subclass would correspondingly include such behavior patterns as the maintenance of privacy, balanced sociability, the creation of opportunities for self-expression, culturally sanctioned channels of tension and aggression release, and many others. Again, the general category relating to the provision of recreational facilities would entail subdivision into physically active and physically passive subclasses. The active subclass would involve further subdivision into lesser categories including games, sports, hobbies, etc., while the passive subclass in the case of modern cultures would involve such activities as radio and Hi-Fi listening, TV viewing, and spectator sports. Space limitations preclude a full and detailed exploration of the inventory of subclasses which would logically appear under each of the nine general categories cited above. Indeed, it can be safely asserted that only further detailed research can presume to determine the total range of phenomena subsumable under these nine general categories. The present classification, therefore, may be regarded as nothing more than a logical starting point for further research.

Of greater immediate relevance here, however, is the fact that even in the case of those general classes of function which appear to be common to all levels of communal organization, the specific behavior patterns implied or manifest at differing levels of organization (and from which the general classes of function enumerated have been abstracted) appear to be quite varied. Taking, for example, the sanitary function, it is evident that while all households are culturally expected to maintain certain minimum standards of cleanliness, to make reasonable disposal of garbage and refuse, etc., no household group is culturally expected to sweep the street in front of its holding. This function, as well as the taking away of garbage and refuse, is customarily performed by the city level of communal organization. Alternately, no neighborhood group is expected to clean up the local park site or playground; yet all neighbors, by virtue of *informal* group standards and pressures, are expected to maintain collectively agreed upon sanitary standards and practices relating to the control of children, pets, pests, vermin, rodents, weeds. Finally, all city levels of communal organization are expected to provide certain sanitary standards as well as sanitary services, such as water, sewage disposal, garbage collection; yet no city is expected to resolve, with its own limited jurisdiction and resources, the problem of smog which envelops an entire metropolitan area. This function, by virtue of

cultural definition, would appear to have been relegated in part to the county, in part to the state, and in part to the federal level of organization. Correspondingly, similar arrangements may be cited with reference to each of the nine general classes of function cited above.

Adopting this premise, it appears, in brief, that cultural definitions and sanctioned expectations operate to reduce the logically abstract general classes of space-related functions common to all levels of communal organization into more or less specific tasks. These tasks are diversely, though in a functionally complementary manner, assigned to given levels of organization in the habitation system in accordance with the controlling mechanisms inherent in established cultural norms pertaining to the ascription of an appropriate degree or measure of local autonomy and local control vis-a-vis a corresponding degree of local responsibility ascribed to each level or type of communal group.<sup>5</sup> Within this broadly encompassing framework of culturally established norms, however, further variability is manifest. Each type of communal group, within the confines of its own organizational structure, appears to perform its culturally assigned space-related functions in a manner which is in keeping with the membership's value concepts relating to time, space, social status, peace, freedom, privacy, equity, cleanliness, legality, morality, safety, order, stability, convenience, economy, etc., seen in a state of dynamic interdependence and as conditioned by the unique and peculiar history of the local group in question.

Undoubtedly, it is the presence and interdependence between such group values as these which, operating within the limitations enjoined by the mechanisms of local autonomy, control, responsibility, and history, explains the fact that at all higher, i.e., spatially and numerically more inclusive, levels of organization many of the space-related functions nominally assigned to the communal group as such are not directly performed by the bulk of its membership. They are performed, rather, by specialized functionaries whose efficiency is greater and who act under the aegis and direction of properly constituted communal authority vested in spatially corresponding and formally constituted political or governmental group structures.

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<sup>5</sup> These concepts are of course familiar to the political scientist and other students of government. It requires only a recognition of the fact that they may be structured both formally and informally to accept their assimilation to community theory. Indeed, in his early work on the community concept, MacIver made extensive use of these notions. Their subsequent disappearance from the sphere of community theory would appear to be in part explained by the persistent tendency in many quarters to confuse government with community. Analysis of this further problem, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

The delegation by communal groups of certain space-related functions to other group structures, such as government, must be regarded, however, not as an abdication of responsibility, but rather as a culturally sanctioned and organizationally convenient division of labor. That is to say, the resident member of the communal group in question is not thereby entirely absolved from further duties and obligations relating to the discharge of the delegated functions. On the contrary, by virtue of related cultural sanctions there devolves upon him the duty of participating in the formulation of rules and regulations which govern the delegation of powers and functions to other specialized groups and/or functionaries. There devolves upon him as well the duty of complying with the collectively established rules relating to the facilitation of such functionaries in the discharge of their delegated functions. That many are lax in their sense of obligation in this respect and renege or in other respects are found remiss in the discharge of their culturally sanctioned roles is a consideration notwithstanding.

A final observation may be made in relation to the matter of the stability of the habitational system as a whole. Presumably, as was noted above, the division of functions, on both the intragroup and intergroup levels of communal organization, achieves an order and a stability as a consequence of the mechanisms of autonomy, control, responsibility, and history which were seen to be operative throughout the entire system of communal groups. These mechanisms, in turn, serve to carry out their functions as a consequence of the fact that membership in each level or type of communal organization is held *simultaneously* by each and every member of society. The norms of each type of group, therefore, as well as the institutional norms governing the entire system of communal organization, thereby achieve a measure of unity and integration, since it is one and the same social actor who acts in reference to his concept of the structure of each group in the series comprising the system as a whole.

## ATTITUDES TOWARD THE FAMILY AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS AND THEIR PARENTS\*

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According to Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, familism refers to strong in-group feelings, emphasis on family goals, common property, mutual support, and the desire to pursue the perpetuation of the family.<sup>1</sup> As several recent developments indicate, this type of organization is no longer so dominant among typical American families as it was a few decades ago.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, it seems that the influence of modern means of transportation and communication, as well as of recent socioeconomic changes, is so extensive and pervasive that the attitudes of various groupings—parents and children, college graduates and non-college graduates, upper and lower occupational classes, and the like—are about equally nonfamilistic.

*The Problem.* The purpose of the present study, which deals primarily with attitudes toward familism among college students and their parents, was to examine this theory by testing the following hypotheses: (1) College students and their parents do not differ significantly in their attitudes toward familism. (2) There is no significant relationship between familism and such variables as education, age, size of home town, occupation, and number of siblings.

*Methodology.* To measure attitudes toward familism, a scale<sup>3</sup> was constructed by means of the Likert scaling technique.<sup>4</sup> The validity and reliability of this device were tested repeatedly and proved satisfactory. A split-half test, for instance, applied to the responses of 30 males and females selected at random from the sample of the present study, gave a

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\*This project was financed by a grant from the Faculty Fellowship Fund of Albion College.

<sup>1</sup> *The Family*, second ed. (New York: American Book Company, 1953), p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-95.

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed description of this scale, see Panos D. Bardis, "A Familism Scale," *Marriage and Social Living*, in press. Valuable suggestions concerning the scale items were given by Drs. R. Blood, E. Burgess, R. Cavan, H. Christensen, E. and S. Duvall, R. Hill, J. and P. Landis, and M. Nimkoff. Copies are available upon request from the author.

<sup>4</sup> Rensis Likert, *A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes* (New York: *Archives of Psychology*, 1932), No. 140, especially pp. 11-33 and 44-53.



raw reliability coefficient of .79, which, after it was corrected by means of the Spearman-Brown formula,<sup>5</sup> resulted in a value of .88. The 16 items<sup>6</sup> of this scale were preceded by a statement specifying that the subjects were not expected to describe their own families but to indicate the extent to which they approved of the practices expressed by these items with reference to the family institution in general. The theoretical range of a person's reaction to each item was 0.4, while that of his familism score resulting from all 16 items was 0-64—a high score always indicated a familistically minded individual.

Part of the group studied by means of this familism scale consisted of students enrolled in the writer's Introductory Sociology course in 1958. Only white native Americans whose parents were also white native Americans, living, and still married were included. In this way, the entire group studied consisted of 68 students and their 136 parents. Of the former, 18 were males and 50 females, their ages ranging between 18 and 24 years—the mean was 19.37. Moreover, 1 was Catholic, 66 were Protestants—of these, 31 were Methodist—and 1 was nonaffiliated. One was married, 2 engaged, and 65 single. Forty-two were sophomores, 23 juniors, and 3 seniors. Eight had spent most of their first 18 years in communities of less than 5,000 population, and 59 in cities of at least 5,000—1 failed to supply information concerning this matter. Eight were only children, 34 had one sibling each, 14 had two, 11 had three, and 1 had six. The ages of the fathers ranged between 41 and 69 years, the mean being 51.26. Four of them were Catholic, 61 were Protestant—of these 27 were Methodist—and 3 were nonaffiliated. Five had only a grade school education, 22 were high school graduates, 26 had some college training, and 15 had done graduate work. Twenty-eight had spent most of their first 18 years in communities of less than 5,000 population, and 40 in cities of at least 5,000. Twelve were skilled workers or foremen, 15 were clerks or kindred workers, 24 were proprietors, managers, or officials, and 17 were professional persons. The ages of the mothers ranged between 38 and 59 years, the mean being 48.99. Two of them were Catholic and 66 were Protestant—of these, 29 were Methodist. Six had only a grade school education, 23 were high school graduates, 34 had some college training, and 5 had done graduate work. Twenty-five had spent most of their first 18 years in communities of less than 5,000 population, and 43 in cities of at least 5,000. Finally, only 9 were gainfully employed—4 were clerks or kindred workers and

<sup>5</sup> Henry E. Garrett, *Statistics in Psychology and Education*, fourth ed. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1953), p. 341.

<sup>6</sup> See Findings and Interpretation, *infra*.

5 were professional persons—while the remaining 59 were housewives.

All of the data secured from these three groups were collected through personal interviews and analyzed by means of several statistical tests.

*Findings and Interpretation.* The means of the subjects' responses to each of the 16 scale items were as follows—the first value always represents the fathers, the second the mothers, and the third the students: a person should always support his uncles or aunts if they are in need, 1.66, 1.50, 1.91; children below 18 should give almost all their earnings to their parents, .94, .91, .59; the family should consult close relatives (uncles, aunts, first cousins) concerning its important decisions, 1.51, 1.13, 1.13; children below 18 should almost always obey their older brothers and sisters, 1.75, 1.38, 1.57; a person should always consider the needs of his family as a whole more important than his own, 3.01, 2.79, 2.76; at least one married child should be expected to live in the parental home, .41, .47, .40; a person should always be expected to defend his family against outsiders even at the expense of his own personal safety, 3.01, 2.44, 2.85; the family should have the right to control the behavior of each of its members completely, 1.00, 1.28, .96; a person should always support his parents-in-law if they are in need, 2.32, 2.59, 2.38; a person should always avoid every action of which his family disapproves, 1.50, 1.50, 1.46; a person should always share his home with his uncles, aunts, or first cousins if they are in need, 1.22, 1.28, 1.44; a person should always be completely loyal to his family, 2.90, 2.68, 2.71; the members of a family should be expected to hold the same political, ethical, and religious beliefs, 1.18, 1.00, .90; children below 18 should always obey their parents, 2.81, 2.68, 2.50; a person should always help his parents with the support of his younger brothers and sisters if necessary, 2.93, 2.66, 3.00; a person should always share his home with his parents-in-law if they are in need, 2.01, 1.93, 1.94.

The above values lead to the following conclusions: (1) The relative uniformity of the means representing each item indicates some proximity between the students' attitudes toward familism and those of their parents. (2) The item represented by the highest means referred to helping one's parents with the support of one's younger siblings, while that with the lowest means pertained to the married child's living in the parental home. (3) In general, if we divide the items into three categories represented by means found primarily between 0 and 1, 1 and 2, and 2 and 3, we observe that (a) the subjects disapproved most of policies depriving the individual of his independence with reference to finances, residence, conduct, and ideologies; (b) they approved most of

practices conducive to the general security of the immediate family as a whole; and (c) the intermediate responses referred primarily to helping close relatives other than parents and siblings.

The means of the subjects' familism scores were 30.16 for the fathers, 28.22 for the mothers, and 28.50 for the students. (A similar study involving young people residing in a rural community in southern Greece gave a mean of 46.95.) The difference between fathers and mothers was insignificant above the .05 level ( $t$  1.81,  $df$  134), that between fathers and students above the .10 level ( $t$  1.63,  $df$  134), and that between mothers and students above the .70 level ( $t$  .27,  $df$  134), thus tending to confirm the hypothesis that "college students and their parents do not differ significantly in their attitudes toward familism." An additional test of the difference between the mean of the male students (29.89) and that of the female students (28.00) revealed that this difference was also insignificant above the .20 level ( $F$  1.03,  $df$  49 and 17, insignificant much above .10;<sup>7</sup>  $t$  1.21,  $df$  66). In other words, as far as familism is concerned, the female students were about as liberal as the males, although certain studies dealing with dating have revealed a significantly lower degree of liberalism among females.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note, however, that among both parents and students the males made consistently higher familism means, the order from the highest to the lowest being: fathers, sons, mothers, daughters.

A different pattern of attitudes was revealed when the responses to the question, "At what age do you think boys should start dating individually, that is, not in groups?—, Girls?—," were analyzed. Indeed, the fathers' means for boys and girls were 16.40 and 15.85 years, respectively, the difference between them being significant slightly above the .05 level ( $t$  1.90,  $df$  134), while the mothers' corresponding values were 16.22 and 15.56, the difference being significant much below the .001 level ( $t$  3.65,  $df$  134), and those of the students 15.29 and 14.82, the difference being also significant much below the .001 level ( $t$  4.27,  $df$  134). In other words, as various similar studies<sup>9</sup> have also shown, the tendency of females to mature and marry earlier than males as well as to be younger than their husbands seems to lead to the belief that girls should start dating earlier than boys. In addition, the fathers once again proved to be the most conservative group and the

<sup>7</sup> See Allen L. Edwards, *Experimental Design in Psychological Research* (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1950), pp. 162-70.

<sup>8</sup> See, for instance, Panos D. Bardis, "Attitudes Toward Dating Among the Students of a Michigan High School," *Sociology and Social Research*, 42: 276.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

students the least conservative, while the mothers were found between the two extremes, perhaps indicating that parents still tend to consider certain modern dating practices too liberal. Indeed, when the mean ages referring to boys were compared, the difference between fathers and mothers was insignificant almost at the .50 level ( $t$  .69,  $df$  134), that between fathers and students significant much below the .001 level ( $t$  4.83,  $df$  134), and that between mothers and students also significant much below the .001 level ( $t$  7.15,  $df$  134). Again, the corresponding differences pertaining to girls were all significant much below the .001 level ( $t$  5.37, 4.70, 4.48;  $df$  134). In brief, although the hypothesis concerning familism was confirmed, the two generations differed significantly with reference to attitudes toward dating.

The second hypothesis, dealing with the relationship between familism and certain variables, was also confirmed. The familism-age correlation coefficients for fathers, mothers, and students, for instance, were .20, .19, and -.04, respectively, while the corresponding figures for familism and years of education were .13, -.06, and .05. Moreover, after assigning a value of 5 to professional persons, 4 to proprietors, managers, and officials, 3 to clerks and kindred workers, 2 to skilled workers and foremen, 1 to semiskilled workers, and 0 to unskilled workers,<sup>10</sup> the fathers' coefficient of correlation for familism and occupation proved to be as low as -.06, while that of the students—for paternal occupations—was .15. On the other hand, of the mothers, the housewives made a mean familism score of 28.46 and the nonhousewives 26.67, the difference between these means being insignificant above the .40 level ( $F$  1.27,  $df$  58 and 8, insignificant much above .10;  $t$  .80,  $df$  66). Insignificant differences were also obtained when those coming from small communities (see methodology) were compared with those coming from large cities.<sup>11</sup> For the fathers, for example, the mean familism score of the former was 29.96 and of the latter, 30.28, the difference being insignificant above the .80 level ( $F$  1.23,  $df$  39 and 27, insignificant much above .10;  $t$  .21,  $df$  66). The corresponding means for the mothers were 28.00 and 28.35, their difference being insignificant above the .80 level ( $F$  1.20,  $df$  42 and 24, insignificant much above .10;  $t$  .22,  $df$  66), while those representing the students were 26.62 and 28.78, their difference being also insignificant above the .30 level ( $F$  1.42,  $df$  7 and 58, insignificant much above .10;  $t$  1.00,  $df$  65). Finally, the students' coefficient of

<sup>10</sup> For this classification of occupations, see Alba M. Edwards, *Comparative Occupational Statistics for the United States, 1870-1940* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 181-86.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Burgess and Locke, *loc. cit.*

correlation for familism and number of siblings was only -.04. It seems then that, perhaps for the reasons mentioned previously, as far as the subjects of the present study are concerned, there is no significant relationship between familism and such variables as age, education, occupation, size of home town, and number of siblings.

When, however, familism scores and the ages considered desirable for the beginning of dating were correlated, the coefficients were as follows: for boys, the fathers' coefficient was .27 (significant between .01 and .05, df 66), the mothers' .07, and the students' .47 (significant much below .01, df 66), while the corresponding values for girls were .27 (significant as above), .18, and .12. In other words, there seems to be a slight positive correlation between liberalism concerning familism and liberalism concerning dating.

Finally, an effort to determine the extent of the parents' influence on their children led to what appears to be the most interesting finding of the present study.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the father-son coefficients of correlation for familism, age at which boys should begin dating, and age at which girls should begin dating were .16, .08, and .01, respectively, while the corresponding father-daughter figures were .41, .47 (both significant below .01, df 48), and .04. On the other hand, the corresponding mother-son coefficients were .16, .29, and .24 (last two, insignificant much above .05, df 16), while those representing the mother-daughter data were .37, .66 (both significant below .01, df 48), and .05. In other words, because the family is ordinarily the first institution to receive the child, because the latter interacts with this group when he or she is most impressionable, because family contacts are intimate, emotional, and continual, and because parents usually satisfy many of their children's physical, psychological, and social needs, thus encouraging identification with, and imitation of, the sources of such satisfaction, it seems that, despite the atomism which is dominant in our society, this institution is still influential. As the above data indicate, however, such influence appears to be more extensive among daughters, since, although all twelve coefficients were positive, the average of those representing the female students was .33, whereas that of the male students was only .16. Furthermore, mothers seem more influential than fathers, since their average was .30, that of the fathers being .20. Finally, the averages representing the four parent-child relationships were as follows: mother-daughter .36, father-daughter .31, mother-son .23, and father-son .08.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Hugh Hartshorne *et al.*, "Testing the Knowledge of Right and Wrong," *Religious Education*, 21: 539-54, especially p. 545.

*Summary and Conclusion.* In brief, a study of attitudes toward the family among 68 Michigan college students and their 136 parents has revealed that (1) the two generations do not differ significantly with reference to attitudes toward familism; (2) males tend to be more familistic than females; (3) both males and females believe that girls should begin to date earlier than boys; (4) fathers tend to be more conservative than their wives and children concerning familism and dating; (5) parents believe that dating should begin much later than the average age given by their children; (6) familism does not seem to be affected significantly and consistently by age, education, occupation, size of home town, and number of siblings; and (7) children's attitudes toward the family are definitely influenced by their parents, the order from the strongest relationship to the weakest being mother-daughter, father-daughter, mother-son, father-son.

Further research by means of the familism scale employed in the present study may be conducted in various ways. Rural samples, for instance, may be compared with others obtained from cities. Moreover, it is possible for additional projects to include three generations as well as various racial, ethnic, or religious groups. Again, the scale may be administered before and after the completion of courses in Family Life Education to measure the influence of such work on familism. Finally, some of the effects of changing social conditions on the family could be ascertained by administering the scale in one and the same school or other institution every five or ten years.

## POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AMONG ORIENTALS IN HAWAII

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The assimilation of immigrant groups in America is frequently described with the use of certain kinds of population data that extend over a period of time, are relatively easy to obtain, and are reasonably accurate. As a facet of assimilation, the extent of political participation on the part of persons of Oriental ancestry in Hawaii may be made by utilizing United States Census and other more or less officially collected information.

Two limited types of political participation among Orientals<sup>1</sup> in Hawaii were selected for study: (1) that of serving as elected officials of the Territorial and County governments of Hawaii and (2) that of serving as appointed officials of the Territorial government, whose functions are "supervisory" or "administrative."<sup>2</sup>

*Elected Officials.* As indicated in Table 1, the percentage that all Orientals and also Japanese alone comprised in both categories of political participation was calculated for decade points from 1910 to 1950 and for the year 1955.<sup>3</sup> Among elected officials, the changes in percentage of participation by Orientals over the decades show no participation at all in 1910, then a minimal but rising amount of participation up to 1940, and then a rather sharp rise.

In order to give a sense of continuity and development for the whole period under discussion, including the years between decade points, pertinent information was obtained from *Thrum's Hawaiian Annual*,

<sup>1</sup> The term "Orientals," for the purpose of this paper, refers to persons of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Filipino ancestry. The Japanese have been singled out in the table because they constitute the largest ethnic group not only among Orientals but in Hawaii as a whole. The rest of Hawaii's population—non-Orientals—consists mainly of Caucasians and Hawaiians, including part Hawaiians, but also includes the numerically minor ethnic groups like the Puerto Ricans, Samoans, and American Negroes.

<sup>2</sup> The sources of information regarding both types of officials were (1) *Thrum's Hawaiian Annual* series and (2) *Directory of Agencies and Officers of the Territory of Hawaii*, a biennial Territorial government publication.

<sup>3</sup> The total number of elected officials varied little over the decades; it was 91 in 1910 and 93 in 1955. In the latter year Orientals, of whom there were 47, comprised 50.5 per cent of the total.



1900 to 1955.<sup>4</sup> It was not until 1920 that the first person of Oriental ancestry, a Chinese, was elected to any government office in Hawaii. In the decade following, a few other persons of Chinese ancestry were elected to both County and Territorial government offices, although as late as the year 1928 only four of the approximately ninety positions were held by Chinese. Japanese names among elected officials appeared for the first time in 1930, when two such persons were elected to the Territorial House of Representatives. In that year five persons of Japanese and Chinese ancestry made up, as the table indicates, about 6 per cent of the total number of elected officials. In 1932 eleven Orientals were elected to public office. This number remained unchanged during the middle 1930's, but in 1938 sixteen Orientals were elected, and in 1940 twenty-two, or about 24 per cent of the total, were Orientals. Thirteen of the twenty-two were of Japanese ancestry, and nine were of Chinese ancestry. One of the thirteen Japanese was the first Oriental to serve in the Senate of the Territorial Legislature. During the years of World War II, except for the holdover senator (1940 to 1944) and one other person who was elected to a County office in 1942 and 1944, no Japa-

TABLE 1  
ORIENTALS IN HAWAII IN GOVERNMENT POSITIONS  
IN RELATION TO ADULT CITIZENSHIP, 1910-1955

	Elected Officials		Appointed Officials		Adult Citizens	
	Per Cent Orientals	Per Cent Japanese	Per Cent Orientals	Per Cent Japanese	Per Cent Orientals	Per Cent Japanese
1910.....	0	0	0	0	3.1	0.3
1920.....	1.1	0	0.8	0	12.7	5.5
1930.....	5.5	2.2	4.1	1.6	23.9	15.3
1940.....	24.2	14.3	6.3	2.9	35.9	26.6
1950.....	37.4	25.3	17.5	10.0	48.2	34.7
1955.....	50.5	43.0	29.7	19.1	54.0*	41.0*

\*Estimated

<sup>4</sup> Hawaii's first election as an American Territory took place in 1900. Japanese and Chinese together made up well over half of the total population in 1900, but the overwhelming majority of these two groups consisted of immigrant aliens or their young citizen children who were not yet eligible to vote or to hold public office. Immigrants from Korea began to arrive in Hawaii from 1900 and from the Philippines from 1909.

nese ran for or held any elected office. Persons of Chinese ancestry made up about 10 per cent of the total of elected officials in 1942 and 1944. In 1946, the first election year after the close of the war, an equal number of Japanese and Chinese made up about 29 per cent of the total of 91 elected officials.

The increase in the Oriental percentage of elected officials that was observed before World War II continued in the postwar period, so that by 1955 slightly more than half of the elected officials were of Oriental ancestry. The increase, however, has been due almost entirely to an increase in the number of officials of Japanese ancestry, although in 1954 a candidate of Filipino ancestry and one of Korean ancestry were elected, each the first representative of his ethnic group to hold elective office in Hawaii.

*Appointed Officials.* The changes in the percentage of Orientals among appointed officials of the Territorial government take a form similar to that of the elected officials, from no Orientals in 1910 to about 30 per cent in 1955.<sup>5</sup> The first substantial increase, however, took place in 1940, a decade after Oriental participation in elective offices had first risen sharply. Throughout the period, participation as appointed officials lagged behind participation as elected officials; in 1955, while about half of the elected officials were Orientals, a little less than a third of the appointed officials were Orientals. Also, within the Oriental category, the proportion of Japanese appointees since the war is smaller than the proportion of Japanese elected officials.

Inspection of *Thrum's Annual* reveals that in the years before 1920 a few persons of Chinese and Japanese ancestry were employed in the lower white-collar ranks in the Territorial government but none in the ranks regarded in this paper as "officials." In 1920 there were two persons of Chinese ancestry listed as "chief clerk" and as "member of Board of Examiners of Optometry." In the late 1920's a few Oriental names began to appear in positions such as "field auditor," "assistant engineer," "chief termite inspector," "member of the Advisory Tax Appraisal Board," and the like. By 1940 Orientals were serving as officials in a number of departments and boards, including several in the Territorial courts, but Orientals as heads of departments or as chairmen of boards appear to be a post-World War II phenomenon.

*Adult Citizens.* The evaluation, or assessment, of the extent of participation on the part of Orientals in these types of government

<sup>5</sup> The total number of appointed officials of the Territorial government was 211 in 1910 and 931 in 1955.

offices calls for the use of some criterion with which the percentage of participation can be compared at each point during the period under consideration. From the information available in the United States Census reports for Hawaii, the percentage that Orientals comprised in the category "U.S. citizens 21 years of age and over" was selected as the most useful standard by which to gauge the extent of participation.<sup>6</sup> This "adult citizens" category in the table shows that Orientals made up 3 per cent of all such persons in 1910 and an estimated 54 per cent in 1955, with the Japanese comprising more than half of the Oriental adult citizen total from 1930 up to the present.

A comparison of the participation columns with the adult citizens column indicates that Orientals were "underrepresented"<sup>7</sup> in both types of government positions throughout the period; that is, Orientals were not up to their "expected" proportion and hence were not like the non-Orientals grouped together as a category (i.e., not assimilated). As a corollary, non-Orientals were "overrepresented." By 1950, however, the gap between the expected and observed percentages had become narrower, especially in the case of elected officials. Projected to 1955, it appears that Orientals had just about "caught up" in elective offices but still experienced a considerable lag in appointive offices. Considering the Japanese alone, this group's participation in elective offices in 1955 went slightly over the benchmark of an estimated 41 per cent with a 43 per cent representation; in the appointed officials category, this group's representation of 19 per cent of the total is less than half the "expected" of 41 per cent.

*Summary.* In an attempt to describe participation in government as a facet of assimilation among Orientals in Hawaii, the percentages that Orientals comprised in the total number of elective offices and of appointive offices were calculated for the period 1910 to 1955. These per-

<sup>6</sup> The percentage of the *total* population of Hawaii who are Orientals may be used to assess their proportion of government participation, but this practice tends to give rise to unrealistic interpretations, since noneligibles formed a much greater proportion among Orientals than among Caucasians and Hawaiians, especially in the early decades of this century. The discrepancy between proportion of adult citizens and proportion of total population among Orientals, however, decreased with each succeeding decade; in 1950 Orientals formed 57 per cent of the total and 48 per cent of the adult citizen population. In another decade there will probably be no statistically significant difference between the two percentages.

<sup>7</sup> Taking 1940 as an example, if we divide 24.2 (per cent Orientals, elected officials) by 35.9 (per cent Orientals, adult citizens), we obtain .67, which may be read as an underrepresentation by approximately a third. The expected index number would be 1.0, a coinciding of the two percentages. The .67 may also be read as an overrepresentation by about a third on the part of non-Orientals.

centages were compared with the percentages for comparable years that Orientals comprised in the total adult citizen population. It was found that:

1. Orientals lagged behind their expected proportion of filling roles as elected government officials, although the lag decreased with each succeeding decade. As of 1955, Orientals had become almost indistinguishable from non-Orientals in this facet of participation in government. The Japanese, among the Orientals, contributed most to closing the gap after World War II, seemingly largely as a result of this large group "coming of age" with respect to adult citizenship.

2. Orientals lagged behind their expected proportion of participants among appointed officials to a greater extent than in the case of participation in elective offices. Here again, however, the lag or gap narrowed with each succeeding decade. As of 1955, Oriental participation had risen to almost three fifths of their expected extent of serving as appointed officials. Japanese participation had risen to about half of their "quota." A hypothesis that suggests itself is that in American local politics, new ethnic groups experience an increase in their percentage of *elected* officials before they experience an increase in their percentage of *appointed* officials.

3. For the Hawaiian situation, the percentage of Orientals in the "U.S. citizens 21 years of age and over" measure is useful both as a standard to gauge the extent of political participation and also as a crude predictor of the ethnic distribution of political participants. As the percentage of Orientals among adult citizens increased, the percentage of Orientals in the two types of government positions increased. How to account for the fact that the percentage of Oriental participants did not quite coincide throughout the period with the percentage of Oriental adult citizens and the fact that Oriental participation increased at a rising rate in the latter part of the period involves such unexamined factors as differences and changes in the age structure of adult citizens in the Oriental category as compared with that of non-Orientals, the degree to which ethnic discrimination has been a policy in making appointments, the extent of ethnic bloc voting in the election of officials, and the possible differences and shifts in status, values, and skills as between Orientals and non-Orientals.

The description of limited types of political participation as a facet of assimilation among Orientals in Hawaii is generally in line with the findings of other aspects of assimilation made by utilizing Census and other government information. Orientals have tended over time to

approximate the standards of non-Orientals in characteristics such as birth rate, fertility ratio, infant mortality rate, median income, amount of education, and occupational distribution,<sup>8</sup> as well as in extent of participation in the more important local government positions.

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<sup>8</sup> A. W. Lind, *Hawaii's People* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955), Chap. 4, "How Do They Live?" and Chap. 5, "What Are They Becoming?"

## W. I. THOMAS AND SOCIAL ORIGINS

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From the standpoint of the history of sociological thought in the United States, I have made a sampling of my notes taken in the class in Social Origins given by William I. Thomas at the University of Chicago during the academic year of 1909-10. This paper is no attempt to repeat those notes either in whole or in part except to illustrate the general trend of the lecturer's thinking regarding social origins.

Thomas' former students know that he rarely indulged in statistics, but sought to present the inner meanings of events from the standpoint of the participants in these events as disclosed by the participants' behavior. He perceived evolutionary trends in the development of culture and in the ability of primitive people to develop step by step, building new behavior patterns on the basis of antecedent patterns and insights. The method could be called sociopsychological. There was some organization around specific subtopics of "social origins," but no general system of thought was attempted.

There was, however, a definite point of view or approach, which might be labeled socioevolutionary. There was a comparative method, comparing what was with what later developed. There was a type of case analysis of one social situation after another, drawn from a large amount of data which Thomas was in a continual process of accumulating and having typed on slips of paper of different colors about four by six inches in size (these slips of paper were cut in terms of centimeters and were carried in a wallet of appropriate size). He continually referred to this storehouse of materials which he could easily organize and reorganize, for he recorded only one item on each slip of paper.

The notes on which this article is based were taken in long hand and hence are not always complete, even though the lecturer spoke slowly (in contrast with the rapid-fire method of George E. Vincent, who was also a member at that time of the sociology staff of the University of Chicago). Some of the ideas which are quoted here are extracted from what is at times an extended context, but the writer has been careful to quote only those ideas which can stand by themselves without being misunderstood by thoughtful readers.

An appropriate and available context for the ideas quoted in this paper is Thomas' *Source Book for Social Origins*,<sup>1</sup> published in the fall of

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<sup>1</sup> Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

1909 when the course was being given. During this time the writer's notes were taken. On the title page of this 932-page book on social origins appears a significant quotation: "In good faith my masters, this is no door. Yet it is a little window that looketh upon a great world" (quoted in Risley, *The People of India*, title page). Through little windows that Thomas opened four days a week, his students, who in the particular course given in 1909-10 included, besides the writer, Ernest W. Burgess, Luther L. Bernard, and others, obtained meaningful glimpses of the world of primitive men and women.

The socioevolutionary view was presented at the very beginning of the course of study. It was explained that there are three stages involved in this view, namely, the prehuman, the postanimal and prewhite civilization, and the civilization stages. Although the discussion of social origins centered in the prewhite civilization stage, references were made from time to time related to prehuman origins and also to current expressions of the prewhite civilization culture patterns.

It was noted, for example, that animals post sentinels and have leaders, usually the best and strongest fighters. They drive the ill-dispositioned members out of the group and maintain a kind of "group morality." Warm-blooded animals with lungs develop squeak-squeak sounds, the predecessors of vocal language. Chicks learn to run from shadows, and thus the survival of the fittest runners begins. Animals have no conception of danger but are "built up to avoid it."

The subject of social origins was related chiefly to living and extinct primitive peoples. The former were described as a kind of "delayed ancestors," or people who have not had the same opportunities as other people to develop. The chief difference between primitives and civilized peoples is "cultural, not biological." However, Thomas pointed out that social origins are not confined to the lives of primitive people. They occur at every stage of social life and they are occurring today.

Social change is and has been going on continually since the advent of man on earth. To primitive people change seemed to be beyond their control. It was inevitable. It was very real and the problem was how to meet it. Wherever it ran counter to established habits of the individuals, "change was met by a maximum of resistance." When times were bad, change was welcome. Hence primitive people on the one hand "were afraid of change" (because of its defiance of habit), and on the other hand they "prized it highly" (when it might bring better times). Even today great change takes place from generation to generation, for "the books of your father you keep for affection."



A few glimpses will now be given of Thomas' approach to such topics as origins of intelligence, of invention, of language, of emotions, of personal control, and of social control.

*Origins of Intelligence.* A few examples of Thomas' interpretation of how intelligence began and developed as a result of various kinds of stimuli will indicate his unique way of interpreting social origins. Since these statements are largely self-explanatory, they will not be prefaced or followed by comments:

The head of an animal goes first, not because it is the head, but because that which started first became the head. It got a head start.

The head got heavy and so man stood up; this rising to stand was man's grandest stand in life. It released his fore feet for all kinds of useful activities.

The erect posture came rather late, for nature didn't think of it at first.

The revolution of the seasons develops a series of pushes to get things done.

Mind is made up of pursuing and escaping.

You can't have a high state of mind in a low state of society.

Occupations represent the modes in which mind expresses itself. Specialization of occupation is an important mode of developing mind.

Primitive religion illustrates the logical process of mind working illogically.

*Of Invention.* The origins of invention are aspects of intelligence. Thomas had a great deal to suggest on this theme, and his incisive observations had a far-reaching significance for social evolution. He often left his students to furnish connecting links in their thinking about evolutionary processes.

Invention starts from an accidental discovery and involves abstraction.

The sword is a long, piercing tooth.

The spear is a longer, piercing tooth.

The arrow (and bow) is a still longer, piercing tooth.

The rifle pierces much farther.

Explosives multiply the piercing process at multiplied distances.

Man has kept adding handles to the killing instruments. In that way he has secured greater force. At the same time he has been able to kill at greater and greater distances.

Specialization may stimulate invention or it may deaden invention, especially when it takes nine men to make a pin, for the making of one ninth of a pin is not very stimulating.

Invention is a pacemaker—everyone catches up after a time.

*Of Language.* Thomas recognized the role of language as an expression of intelligence, as consisting of inventions, and as a form of communication. He pointed out some of the origins of meaning that are found in behavior and in gestures which may be "truncated acts" (Mead).

Bowing the head is a diminished approach.

"Yes" involves shaking the head, and rigidity.

Tithes developed by counting on the hands.

Group life is regulated by signals.

In certain remote regions distance is signified by two "whoops" and a "holler" (half a "whoop").

Language is a social control instrument, for through it traditions, knowledge, standpoints are passed along and increased.

*Of Emotions.* The origins of emotions are deep-seated and difficult to locate. They are related to favorable and unfavorable environmental experiences. They are widespread uniformities in their origins relating to the individual's gains and losses or anticipated gains and losses or imagined gains and losses.

The yelp of a dog at not being allowed to join in a hunt indicates a breaking of the emotions.

Primitive man away from home may die of homesickness because of the disrupting of so many of his habits.

Romantic affection is based partly on newness.

Temperament varies more than mind; emotionally you are not separable from your surroundings.

Primitive man's literature emphasizes emotions, not intelligence.

Emotions are bases of religion and the arts.

*Of Races.* The inherited mind of the different races is about the same. Racial differences, according to Thomas, are largely related to culture differences. The differences between the members of a race may be greater than differences between races. Racial prejudices are acquired or learned by each individual in his lifetime.

Our ancestors were once "savages."

The African black thinks that the first white man that he sees is frightfully anemic and to be pitied.

The favored color by primitive colored people is a chocolate brown.

The native African prefers a snug well-fitting nose. He deplors a beaklike projecting nose.

No Negro has ever been raised from birth as a white child in a white family.

The Oriental is more filial than the Occidental.

The time may come when all the world may be of a chocolate color, but what difference will that make?

*Of Personal Control.* Personal control begins in the arousing of inner processes by stimuli from surroundings. It has emotional aspects and is represented in habits. It is motivated by attention. It is broken in crises and made over by crises.

The control of life is a matter of personal attention.

Attention is both inhibited and freed by habit.

Attention is aroused by crises.

Animals have no conception of danger except as they are built up by experience to avoid it.

A trained tiger has a terrible history, for he has been trained to inhibit by punishment.

Ornaments were worn first, then clothing, that is, you get something on that will attract attention to yourself.

It is dangerous suddenly to break habits without first having developed a technique of inner control.

The "gaming instinct" means that everything takes on a plan of personal pursuit. Obtaining personal control is the object of actions that have a purpose.

*Of Social Control.* While social control and personal control are partially inseparable, the former reaches into the field of social justice, morality, and religion. It includes a responsibility for social well-being and it may reach beyond mundane forces. It has many practical facets; in fact, social control among primitives arose out of personal and group needs.

Among primitives one may not marry inside certain limits (the clan), and one must marry inside certain larger limits (the race).

In primitive times a man was forced to settle in his wife's home; a woman was not allowed to follow a man and settle in his home.

Mind is the only instrument necessary to control the world.

The problem of society is how to get the individual to assume responsibility for the welfare of others as well as for his own.

If all persons were Jane Addamses, then there would be no need for government's heavy hand in social control.

"Justice" is often a case of clever lawyers (you never can tell what will be sprung in a given legal case).

Nobody gets up a code of morals; codes grow out of the stresses of group life; morality is a growth; morality grows out of social activities.

Cannibalism was rooted out because groups could not afford to lose their members. Religion among primitive people was an attempt at control by making alliances with superhuman spirits, who must exist because things happen which no man does; in seeking causes primitive man was forced to believe in other spirits.

In conclusion, a reference may be made to Thomas' subtle sense of humor which cropped out in class lectures most unexpectedly. It was friendly, never sarcastic. It was pointed, but never punishing. It was polite, but its meaning was clear, e.g., "I courteously assume that most of you know all about the theory of evolution, but I presume that most of you do not," or "I don't let anyone sleep in this class except visitors." He often put over his point by startling and sweeping contrasts in ideas: "I'll think of the answer to your question in a moment, but in the meanwhile I don't know anything either."

## PEOPLES AND CULTURE

**WHAT'S RIGHT WITH RACE RELATIONS.** By Harriet Harmon Dexter.  
New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958, pp. 248.

This encouraging book reports on the progress that has been made in overcoming racial discrimination in the United States. The author, a free-lance writer and professor of English at Northland College in Wisconsin, has had many years of experience in intercultural, interracial, and community relations.

Professor Dexter bases her study on a firsthand study of present conditions in schools and colleges, labor, housing, churches, transportation, the courts, athletics and recreation, and the armed forces. Her book contains a wealth of information obtained from interviews, case studies, and historical sources. Many data are included on such ethnic groups as Negroes, American Indians, Jews, Japanese, Chinese, and Mexicans.

Mrs. Dexter makes the point that "things don't just happen." Whether dramatic or unobtrusive, each action indicates the willingness of some individual or group to take the leadership or initiative. At times the author tends to be carried away by her enthusiasm for ethical and moral considerations. However, this does not detract from the fact that this readable book, which is designed for the general public, is a valuable addition to the literature available on ethnic relations in the United States.

I. ROGER YOSHINO  
*University of Arizona*

**POWER AND PROPERTY IN INCA PERU.** By Sally Falk Moore. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958, pp. xii+190.

This study of the political, social, and economic structure of the Inca state reviews and interprets anew the forms of tenure of land, the tax system, the nature of the substantive law, the political system and its judicial functions, and, finally, there is a brief appraisal of theory and practice in Inca law. Throughout the book there is an effort to avoid errors in generalization which have been made by some former writers about the Incas. As features in the Inca culture pattern, the decimal structure from the Inca downward, the hierarchical power system with its privileges and obligations at different levels, the taxing and judicial functions characteristic within the entire Inca empire—all seem to gain in objectivity and clarity as elements in Inca life.

J.E.N.

**WEST OF THE HINDUS.** By William O. Douglas. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1958, pp. xiii+513.

From the facile pen of Associate Justice Douglas has come another travel book, full of detailed and close observation, chiefly of the common people of interesting Asian countries, namely, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey. The journey that is described took place in the summer of 1957 and was made chiefly by station wagon. Although there were rough roads, broken springs, great clouds of dust, unbearable heat, difficulties with food and water, the author maintained a fine equipoise.

The author found that the common people in each country visited showed a warmth of feeling, a "longing for equality," and a "great pride in race and culture." He found them needing friends without condescension. The Asian likes foreigners "who will eat his bread and rice," who will "sleep on his rice mats," who will "drink his tea and share his worries," and who "will not lord it over him."

The Associate Justice ended his journey with the belief that Europe, Asia, and Africa are becoming one, and that a great gulf is isolating America. He found evidence "of the growing gulf between America and the East, the gulf that threatens to leave us in lonely isolation."

E.S.B.

**DESEGREGATION AND THE SOUTHERN STATES 1957. Legal Action and Voluntary Group Action.** By Jessie P. Guzman and W. L. Hall. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama: The Department of Social Science and Research, 1958, pp. 59.

This important and timely document contains "representative data for persons interested in the main developments of Negro-white relations in the areas covered." The data relate chiefly to the year 1957 and indicate how the nonsegregation principle was furthered by the judicial, legislative, and executive branches of the Federal government. The citations give examples of both noncompliance and compliance by the three branches of state governments in the South.

These materials are accompanied by citations of voluntary group action of Southern groups favoring integration and also of Southern groups opposing integration. A few cases of mob action are cited. The ensemble seems to show considerable social movement toward nonsegregation in the areas covered, namely, of education, transportation, recreation, voting, and employment.

A.R.R.

**DURBAN, A STUDY IN RACIAL ECOLOGY.** By Leo Kuper, H. Watts, and R. Davies. Introduction by Alan Paton. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958, pp. 254.

This is a unique study dealing with Durban, a city of half a million, the third largest city of South Africa, and composed about equally of "Europeans," "Indians," "Africans." The city is committed to a policy of racial segregation which calls for plans of racial zoning, with reference not only to residences but also to places of business and in a degree to places of work.

The survey reveals that "the distribution of income, religious, and language groups within each race shows a pattern related to the climate and topography of the city." Natural segregation which is voluntary is to be supplanted by planned and compulsory segregation. The natural type "is now to be replaced by a planned resegregation," which is to "secure maximum racial 'purity.'" It is pointed out that "in the proposed rewriting of the ecology of Durban" the Europeans will be affected least and the Indians most, and hence the latter are objecting strenuously. It is proposed to incorporate additional areas into the city and resettle the Indians and Africans there and to arrange the transportation system so that these groups will not travel through areas occupied by Europeans. It is assumed that absence of racial contact will make for peace. However, the authors hold to a view common in many parts of the world that racial contacts can create better human relations than compulsory segregation.

E.S.B.

**THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE.** By James McBride Dabbs. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1958, pp. 270.

This remarkable book was written by a South Carolina businessman and writer. It is a classic statement of the enlightened Southern view of race relations in the long perspective of history. Mr. Dabbs is a Southerner to the core. He is indeed proud of the South's great heritage, yet he has searched his mind objectively in a realistic and honest attempt to find the truth regarding the crisis between the races. The volume presents an abundance of data based on history and the sociological contributions of Howard W. Odum and his colleagues at the University of North Carolina.

In an excellent analysis the author very skillfully brings the reader to the realization of the great burden of guilt which has fixed itself upon the South because of the years of injustice forced upon the Negro through

the practice of exploitation and discrimination. He eloquently and successfully presents a well-rounded picture of the South, including the harmonious antebellum plantation life, the devastating Civil War, the heartbreaking days of recovery, the establishment of Jim Crowism, the South's determination to segregate and defranchise the Negro and put him back in his place as a worker, and the new problems growing out of recent development symbolized by the Negro entering industry and his militant demand for integration.

Mr. Dabbs reminds us that segregation is extremely expensive and a great handicap to Southern industrialization, consequently a retarding influence to the progress of the South. Although the South has a divided heart, there is a new day ahead, for behind the problems that face the South are unimaginable opportunities waiting to test our gallantry and courage. This is a challenge which the South will accept. Many old attitudes and long-cherished traditions are vanishing and are destined eventually to give way to the democratic and the Christian traditions which are gradually but surely working toward the elimination of racial discrimination and a new day for the South.

FLOYD A. POLLOCK

*Stephen F. Austin State College*

**A BLACK CIVILIZATION. A Story of an Australian Tribe. Revised edition.** By W. Lloyd Warner. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958, pp. xx+618.

In this revision of a book first published in 1937 and based on three years research, 1926-29, among the Murngin people of North Australia, the author has made a number of revisions. These are based on the literature which appeared in the years that followed the publication of the first edition and that deal with more or less controversial issues. The points under fresh consideration involve such themes as asymmetrical marriage, methods of regulating marriage and descent, the relation of "the nuclear families of orientation and procreation to the kinship system," the unilateral local organization, and the relation of the clans to the kinship system.

The book gives much attention to the nature and roles of magic, the totemic system, and to the extent, uses, and meanings of symbols. It may be noted in this work of almost countless facts that the social institutions of the Murngin people have been little influenced by the neighboring Malay race and culture, although some changes in the Murngin's material culture were noted.

A.R.R.



**CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY. THE SCIENCE OF CUSTOM.** By Felix M. Keesing. New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1958, pp. xxvii+477.

A feature of this text is its unique manner of presenting in a developmental sequence eighty-four problem-questions, each of which is analyzed and discussed at length, in place of the usual chapter subheadings. The problems are grouped under a wide range of topics emphasizing the nature of cultural anthropology, basic concepts of culture and people, the growth of culture from its earliest phases to the present machine age, the geographic distribution of culture, the interrelations of culture, society and personality, and the universal patterning of culture. Material culture is surveyed in terms of food customs, clothing, housing, transportation, tools, weapons and machines, ceramics, textiles, and metallurgy. Institutional aspects of culture are considered as related to economic, social, political, and religious organization. Language is examined as a culture system. Several of the problems deal with social control and deviant behavior. Eight of the problems discuss cultural change.

Many of these problems are on the borderline between anthropology and sociology, and justly so, owing to their mutual concern with cultural processes. The work is more essentially anthropological in its comparative method, in its tracing of culture from its earliest known stages, and in the nature of its examples and illustrations of cultural forms. The glossary of terms and the bibliography should prove of value for students.

J.E.N.

**MOONLIGHT AT MIDDAY.** By Sally Currihar. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958, pp. xix+392.

The author, a naturalist, went to Alaska to study wild life for a couple of years but remained over nine years, and in addition studied and wrote about the Eskimo. Nearly two thirds of the book describes and interprets the lives of these "fine, complete people," as well as an anthropologist or sociologist might do. A great deal of the material comes from the Eskimo village of Unalakleet, near Nome, although the data presented afford the reader a fair sampling of the 15,000 Eskimos of Arctic Alaska.

The Alaskan Eskimos are seen as essentially a race adrift between the traditional Eskimo culture and the invading "Western" culture. "They are adrift and, through no fault of their own, almost helpless."

In their culture "all relationships have been based on cooperation," but now "in place of trust, they must develop wariness." They find it difficult to acquire the ability that some white Americans have of feeling "good will towards others while attempting to get ahead of them."

Some missionaries with a grounding in sociology and psychology have been of great help to the Eskimos in making their difficult adjustments to the coming of white Americans and "to a world that is less pure, less responsible, than their own has been." Other missionaries have brought "threats of hell, demands for money, and scoldings for giving in to temptations the white men have brought."

Special attention is given to teachers and the educational problems; to the rigors of the climate in the northern half of Alaska; to the cities like Fairbanks, Anchorage, Nome; to agriculture, mining, fishing; to the mistakes of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in dealing with the Eskimos; to the "bush" fliers; to the idealism, the quiet mind, and the spirit of sharing of the Eskimos. The book gives a dramatic account of a people accustomed to hardship, trying to hold off "civilized pressures."

E.S.B.

**WORLD POPULATION PRESSURES.** By Harold L. Geissert. Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University, 1958, pp. 46.

**POPULATION PRESSURES IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA.** By Richard W. Stephens. Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University, 1958, pp. 48.

The document on *World Population Pressures* gives figures on the population growth of the world by countries and by regions, and the birth and death rates by underdeveloped and developed countries, likewise the age composition and the degree of urbanization, country by country. It is pointed out that the population of Latin America "is growing more rapidly than any other major region of the world." Another of the important observations made by Professor Geissert is that the effectiveness of the technical aid programs of the United States "is hampered by our official inability to help these countries limit their population," and that some of the underdeveloped countries are more advanced in the willingness of "the public to accept the idea of birth control" than are the Western nations.

The brochure by Professor Stephens, which centers attention on population problems in Africa south of the Sahara, notes that stable economic systems are hindered from developing because "Africans by

the tens of thousands are leaving their native villages and families for months and sometimes years at a time to work in the mines or the plantations, or wherever the Europeans will hire them." The vast majority are living under primitive conditions, "and each year there are more people." An underlying question is this, How can a nation become great if it allows no stable labor force to develop and no "stable wage-earning middle class"?

E.S.B.

**YEAR BOOK AND GUIDE TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, 1959.** Edited by A. Gordon-Brown. London: Robert Hale, Ltd., 1959, pp. xlix+712+154 (supplement), 24 double-page maps in color, 26 photographs, one folding road map.

**YEAR BOOK AND GUIDE TO EAST AFRICA, 1959.** Edited by A. Gordon-Brown. London: Robert Hale, Ltd., 1959, pp. xxxiv+341+112 (supplement), 8 maps, 12 photographs, 2 folding maps.

These yearbooks provide a wealth of facts relating to the customs, history, religion, education, populations, communications of the countries of southern and eastern Africa, such as the Union of South Africa, the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya.

**INTRODUCTION TO CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY.** By Mischa Titiev. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959, pp. xvi+464.

This text begins with the definition of man as an animal with culture, a consideration of man's forerunners, the emergence of *Homo sapiens*, and the biological foundations of culture. This orientation of culture in general is followed by a survey of cultural development from its earliest phases, through the Old Stone Age, New Stone Age, and the so-called metal phases. The author demonstrates well the value of knowledge concerning primitive societies and their cultures so that the social and cultural influences shaping our own culture may be understood functionally.

From the institutional standpoint, the author gives some attention to kinship and nonkinship aspects of social organization, marriage, religion and magic, language, and the verbal arts. Music, the dance, and the playing of games are considered as nonverbal cultural elements. Finally, three cultures are compared in certain particulars—those of Tikopia, the Hopi Indians, and the United States. Though not so comprehensive in range as several other textbooks now current in this field, the approach taken and the manner of discussion are of interest.

J.E.N.

**RICE ROOTS.** *An American in Asia.* By Arthur Goodfriend. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1958, pp. 209.

The author, who with his wife and children lived for a time "as a plain American trying to understand people at the rice roots" in Indonesia, gives a vivid and enlightening interpretation of what the common people of that new republic are thinking about with reference to capitalism, imperialism, communism, Americanism. He went to live at the "rice roots" level because he had become convinced that American dollars "were not reaching the people" in Asia, and that trying to reshape Asia "in America's image" was wasted effort. To deal with "the big wheels and count on them to reach the masses" is a misconception.

Living at the "rice roots" in Indonesia, the author found that many of the peasants think of America in terms of machinery, guns, and Marilyn Monroe. Judging from certain movies, they think of Americans as having a "lust for kissing and killing." The United States is thought of in terms of "big business, money, capitalism," that "the inner philosophy of the United States is money," and that the government is "subservient to political bosses and big corporations." Some ask, "What is free enterprise but the right of one man to overpower another?" The free enterprise system is conceived of as "the greatest imperialist of all times." Moreover, these misconceptions of America are played up and magnified throughout Indonesia by Communist agitators.

Indonesia's cooperatives, which have "risen to over ten thousand," have stimulated the members to become self-reliant, as indicated by the following firsthand report. In a cooperative "each of us keeps what he has and manages his own land or shop. But each puts a little into a common fund. We use the fund to buy seed cheaply at harvest time. We store our rice, selling it at a higher price in planting time. We put the profits back into the fund. Little by little, through saving and wise investment, we raise our own capital. Then we make this capital work for us, like a buffalo or a mule."

The author found the impoverished Indonesians to be "just as proud; as self-respecting, as chary about charity" as the people, for example, of New Hampshire (the author's home state). It is pointed out that Asians want understanding and partnership "on a basis of utter equality." It is urged that no American be sent abroad in any capacity "without thorough instruction in Asian culture and character." It is even suggested that the American moving picture industry make one picture in ten that is "truly reflective of the real America."

E.S.B.

## SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND WELFARE

**FAMILY ALLOWANCES.** By James C. Vadakin. Miami, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1958, pp. xiii+185.

Although all the important industrialized nations of the world have adopted family allowances for children, the United States has not yet given full-scale consideration and study to such a measure. The present book, which is Number 3 in the University of Miami Publications in Economics, offers an analysis of family allowances which is one of the most recent significant developments in the field of social security and child welfare.

This book covers the historical development of family allowances; the administration of the Canadian program; the implications of these measures in the fields of child welfare, demography, and economics; and the significance of family allowances for the United States. Also of interest is the discussion of current legislation and the reproduction of the resolution introduced in the Senate by Senator Richard L. Neuberger.

Sociologists concerned with the impact of an industrialized society upon family life will find this a compact analysis of the subject. And although the author presents the favorable and unfavorable views of family allowances, his own attitude, which appears to be shaped by the meliorist tradition in American sociology, seems to be that subsidies for our children are at least as important as subsidies to farmers, industrialists, corporations—and baseball teams.

NATHAN HURVITZ

**TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK.** Third International Survey. New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 1958, pp. viii+349.

This meaty document deals first with training for social work with individuals, with groups, and with communities, and then with content materials concerning man and society. The importance of field work is emphasized, and social work theory and practice are discussed. Curriculum planning and content of courses are given attention. Proposals are made for "progressively raising the level of training for social work" on both the national and the international levels. One of the interesting sources of data for this document was a series of seminars (held in Montevideo, Uruguay; Lahore, Pakistan; and Athens, Greece) as a means of obtaining a wide coverage of social work activities.

**NEW HORIZONS IN CRIMINOLOGY.** Third Edition. By Harry Elmer Barnes and Negley K. Teeters. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959, pp. xxxvii+654.

This edition of a popular textbook in criminology and penology is comprehensive in scope, the content has been brought up to date, and the material has been presented in a concise and interesting manner. It is an informative source book, with extensive summaries of both theories and research findings. It is really two books in one, dealing respectively with Crime and the Criminal and Penal and Correctional Procedures.

After a provocative discussion of the crime situation in America, the authors present an analysis of the main theories and factors in causation of criminal behavior, which is one of the most valuable sections of the book. The theories and factors are grouped under the constitutional school of theorists, the geographic and economic factors in crime causation, modern sociological theories, minority group tensions, home and community influences, and emotional disturbances. An attempt is made to synthesize the various theories and research findings, using the "multiple-causation" approach. However, no comprehensive theoretical frame of reference is presented.

Approximately two thirds of the book is devoted to correctional programs, including a survey of criminal justice by the police system and the courts, the penal and correctional procedures, particularly reforms in criminal law and in penal institutions, and the rehabilitative process within the framework of imprisonment and the resocialization of the offender in the community. Only one chapter is devoted to the prevention of crime, which would seem to be a topic of major importance. A greater emphasis is placed on the new developments in prison and correctional programs, also in probation and parole philosophy. M.H.N.

**RECRUITMENT TO SKILLED TRADES.** By Gertrude Williams. New York: The Humanities Press, Inc., 1957, pp. vii+216.

Written by an English woman, the book begins with the Statute of 1582, which established a national system of apprenticeship, reviews the activities of the Poor Law authorities in the early 1800's with reference to farmed-out children to cotton mills, and takes up the Employment and Training Act of 1948. The procedure of integrating work with the employers' "day release" created some dissatisfaction. As a result, the following industries were studied in order to obtain the needed information: printing, building, motor vehicle, iron and steel, iron foundries, mechanical and electrical engineering, and shipbuilding.

Although the apprenticeship system in these various industries has many common features, the author deemed it wise to discuss each industry separately because of technical and historical variations. As a result of the superiority in technical education shown by other countries at the national exhibitions in the nineteenth century, concern in England resulted in the establishment in 1944 of junior technical schools. So small a proportion of the boys, however, have had a previous grammar school education that the results have not proved satisfactory.

The present system of recruiting and training workers for skilled industries, says the author, is essentially the same as that existing 800 years ago. New methods must be learned, and several other countries—notably the United States, France, Germany, and Holland—have given illustrations. In America men can become apprentices up to the age of 35 instead of 16 as is usual in Great Britain. In France a 3-year craft training course is provided. Germany requires apprentices to serve from 3 to 3½ years. If found unsatisfactory, they are reduced to unskilled labor. In Holland, the boys spend the last 2 years of their compulsory 8-year school training at a junior technical school. Then they are apprenticed at full-time employment for 2 or 3 years.

Consideration of these various methods of education enables the British Government to select the methods most suitable for local use and to gradually perfect its system of recruitment to the skilled trades.

G.B.M.

**THE GANG: A STUDY IN ADOLESCENT BEHAVIOR.** By Herbert A. Bloch and Arthur Niederhoffer. New York: Philosophical Library, 1958, pp. xviii+231.

Owing to prevalent misconceptions of the gang and the adolescent group, some general considerations are presented first to define basic terms and social situations which are essential in this study. Insight concerning the practices of contemporary juvenile groups and gangs is provided through cross-cultural comparison with comparable behavior among primitive peoples. Thus puberty rites of primitives are compared with contemporary "rites" of adolescence. The ganging process becomes understandable as a symbol of the urge to manhood. The relation of this process to delinquency is explained in terms of its psychological aspects and its philosophy of rationalization. The influence of the automobile, the significance of leadership and power, and other common factors in gang behavior objectify the study.

J.E.N.



**PERMANENT PEACE. A Check and Balance Plan.** By Tom Slick.  
New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958, pp. x+181.

The author, described as a Texas businessman with considerable civic, government, and research experience, has developed a plan for permanent peace that is based in part on the Clark and Sohn book on *World Peace Through World Law*. It is based on the principle of gradualism, on "strictly limiting that portion of national authority turned over to international control to the minimum necessary for an effective program to function," and on a system of checks and balances between the power of nations and international authority, involving the establishment of an international police force, an international reserve force, and having these balanced on a fifty-fifty basis by national forces. After setting up the machinery for gradual disarmament, the author would have people unite for its adoption and for procedures to remove the causes of war.

An extensive emphasis on social machinery for preventing war seems to be given precedence over educational procedures for getting people to communicate with one another, to understand one another, and to work together by the use of discussion methods. Hence, two questions may be raised: Should the educational methods precede the legal and military ones? Or should they be developed simultaneously with the legal and military proposals?

E.S.B.

**WORK IN THE LIVES OF MARRIED WOMEN.** By National Manpower Council. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958, pp. ix+220.

This volume presents the proceedings of a conference on womanpower sponsored by the National Manpower Council, which has as its purposes to study significant manpower problems and to contribute to the more effective development and utilization of the nation's human resources. Since one third of all the women in the United States work outside the home, since half of the women who work are over 40 years of age, since 3 out of every 5 of the 22 million women in the labor force are married, and since about 2.5 million women whose children are under six are in the labor force—work plays a most significant role in the lives of married women in the United States.

Four major themes were considered by the participants in the conference: "Education, Training, and Guidance of Women for Re-entry into the Labor Force," "The Utilization of Womanpower," "Income Earned by Married Women," and "Working Mothers and the Development of

Children." The conference findings are presented by Dr. Henry David, Executive Director of the National Manpower Council, in the final chapter of this book. These are so general, diluted, and attuned to prevailing attitudes and philosophies that one wonders why a conference was needed to give them further authority.

Although this book has significance for sociologists concerned with working women as a social problem, it does not have a meaningful sociological orientation. Thus, there is no serious evaluation of the work of married women in relation to the family as a social institution, the material presented is not related to the growing body of theory and research regarding marital roles, and there is no analysis of the place of women's work in relation to social structure. NATHAN HURVITZ

**HIGH SCHOOL SOCIOLOGY.** A Study in Social and Human Relations.

By William E. Cole and Charles S. Montgomery. Boston: Allyn Bacon, 1959, pp. viii+406.

Although this book is a successor to *School Sociology* (1936), it is new in materials, format, illustrations, and supplementary aids. One part deals with "historical, cultural, and biological backgrounds of society." A second part follows on "our social roles and our social worlds." The third part describes important "major social problems facing our society." Many teaching aids are given and a glossary of nearly a hundred terms is given. A general bibliography is added. This text merits widespread use in high schools throughout the United States.

**DATING, MATING, AND MARRIAGE.** By Jessie Bernard, Helen E.

Buckanan, and William M. Smith, Jr. Cleveland, Ohio: Howard Allen, Inc., 1958, pp. xi+410.

A new approach to the study of dating, mating, and marriage is presented in that the authors make exclusive use of personal documents. Similar documents have been used by other writers in the field, but none have assembled such a wide variety of personal case data as is found in the present treatise. The personal documents that are used reveal the participant's experiences and views of the dating, courting, and marriage procedures.

After introductory chapters dealing with the present-day challenges that the family must meet, and the community background of dating, a series of narratives of dating experiences, including the dating by service

men abroad, are presented. This is followed by an analysis, through case records and personal documents, of family relations at the launching stage, student marriages, the problems of money matters faced by newly married couples, how certain individuals and couples dealt with differences in backgrounds and personalities, the respective roles played by men and women in modern society, and how individuals and families have met crisis situations.

Personal documents are interesting to read, for they reveal the inner reactions of persons to various types of situations. The authors did a good job of selecting these personal documents. The book can be used as a basic text in courses dealing with marriage and the family, and it is an excellent supplementary source book. The bibliography contains selected sources, including chapter references to standard treatises. Also, the cases and personal documents given in the book are keyed to nineteen textbooks on courtship, marriage, and the family. M.H.N.

**VOCATION DE LA SOCIOLOGIE RELIGIEUSE—SOCIOLOGIE DES VOCATIONS.** Edited by E. Collard and Others. Tournai, Belgium: *Établissements Casterman*, 1958, pp. 241.

**PAROISSES URBAINES, PAROISSES RURALES.** Edited by F. Boulard and Others. Tournai, Belgium: *Établissements Casterman*, 1958, pp. 222.

These two volumes represent the Fifth International Conference for the Sociology of Religion, held in Belgium in 1956. Naturally, the volumes can hardly fail to arouse some interest, as they treat a relatively neglected area of sociology. However, their value is reduced somewhat by the scope of the conference, which was largely European, with particular stress on the Low Countries, and almost exclusively Roman Catholic. As with most works of multiple authors, the quality of the papers varies considerably.

The volume on vocations would appear to be the more general of the two, as there is an introduction to the sociology of religion with notes on a variety of theorists, ranging from Freud to Durkheim. Of the research studies reported, Pickering's investigation with an English sample appears to be the most significant. The second part of the volume treats the clergy as a profession, particularly the factors influencing vocational choice in this area. Probably most interesting to the American reader is the research of Harte on the priesthood of the United States.

The volume on parishes is divided into two parts: the urban and

the rural. In the various papers there are significant vignettes of life from Brussels to Chicago, from Rome to Buenos Aires. There is some noteworthy material on parish planning, including its ecological aspects. Boulard's study of optimum population within the parish is outstanding as is Laloux's study of a Belgian rural parish. Excellent, too, is Fichter's paper on social groups.

In evaluating the two works, which represent some thirty contributors, it is hardly original to suggest that there might have been more attention to methodology and documentation, since this is the favorite criticism of the American as he reviews foreign sociology. Despite its empirical limitations, the present volume is welcome in the fairly infant sociology of religion. Certainly some of the papers with their maps, tables, and references will be most useful to researchers in this field.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON  
*Los Angeles City College*

**MARRIAGE AND FAMILY RELATIONS: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH.** By Lawrence S. Bee. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959, pp. xviii+500.

The main parts of the book deal with what individuals bring to marriage, including both cross-sectional and developmental aspects of personality; dating, courting, and engagement as preparatory steps toward marriage; growing together in marriage, especially the problems of family interaction and adjustment; patterns of faulty and productive marriages, illustrated by the sociopsychological portraits of three contrasting families; and the disorganization and reconstruction of marriage. The impacts of social change on courtship, marriage, and family living in America are discussed by way of introduction. The distinctive feature of the study is the description of the personality patterns that different people bring to courtship and marriage, including basic personality traits, the psychosexual development of personality, sex problems, the degree of emotional maturity, and the element of love. The influence of personality traits on courtship and marriage is stressed through the book and is illustrated by case material, including several extended case studies.

Even though the material is drawn from such fields as sociology, psychology, psychiatry, anthropology, physiology, social work, home economics, education, and literature, it can hardly be regarded as an integrated interdisciplinary approach. However, the wide range of material that is included enriches the content. Considerable attention is given to the components of basic personality, the psychosexual develop-

ment of personality and sex problems, also certain emotional factors, which are regarded as crucial to marriage. The discussion of the problem of divorce is limited to one short chapter, and only a few pages are devoted to the "real causes" of divorce.

That the American family is undergoing changes has long been recognized. The trend from "institutionalism" to "personalism" is evident. New problems of the family have arisen in the wake of these changes. However, certain movements designed to help the modern family have emerged. The author has described briefly the family life movement in the schools and in religious organizations, family-centered medical practice, the family court, marriage counseling, and family service agencies.

M.H.N.

**PRIMER OF FREE GOVERNMENT.** By William B. Chalfant. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959, pp. 160.

The basic contention in this essay is that free government, or what Americans understand as democracy, has never yet been constituted and the present troubles of the free world are attributable to this fact. To launch his argument, the author defines liberty, freedom, and equalitarianism, and states his conception of the ethics of free government. It is held that free government requires three groups of doctrines which give meaning to justice, to organization, and to practice, but the woes of free government as now imperfectly constituted spring from the lack of appreciation of the principles of free social life.

The signs of social dissatisfaction with "free government," or democracy as Americans think of it, are socialism and communism, which pointedly attack capitalism, free enterprise, and public government. The author regards it as tragic that the American dynamic will to the good life is hopelessly fettered by the bondage of social incompetency. The need for the organization of fully qualified free government must be recognized if the social, economic, and political problems of democracy are to be solved.

J.E.N.

## SOCIAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

LABOR AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. Edited by Walter Galenson.  
New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1959, pp. xiii+304.

Beginning with an exploratory introduction by the editor, this book offers five essays dealing with the growth and development of labor movements in five countries—India, Japan, Egypt, French West Africa, and the British West Indies. The essays are mainly reports of research studies financed by the Inter-University Study of Labor Problems in Economic Development. They have been undertaken and written by experts in the field, namely, Charles A. Myers, Robert A. Scalapino, Frederick H. Harbison, Elliot Berg, and William H. Knowles.

Interestingly conceived, the essays, though centered about the several different countries, manage to maintain a kind of central unity in that they describe the effects of labor problems on economic patterns that differ markedly from the British and American systems. Each of the countries under discussion has been more or less confronted with lack of experience in collective action, with problems of unemployment, poverty, much illiteracy, superstitions, and racial differences, and with unique cultural folkways and mores.

Egypt, asserting its proprietorship and control over labor problems, "seems to be fairly well supplied with native entrepreneurs and with educational facilities of turning out qualified engineers." Both in India and in Egypt, "great pressure exists to get rid of foreign management personnel." In Japan, the industrial revolution is nearly a century old, but its evolution has been uneven due in part to a high selection of certain Western techniques and experience. The Japanese state with its great power "was able more successfully than in the past to borrow from and interrelate with the values of a familial system that placed its emphases upon loyalty, obedience, and status-derived obligations." French West Africa, marked by colonialism, slave trade, tribal wars, diseases, and a dominant village system, offers still another picture of labor economics.

The essays are enlightening on almost every phase of the entire scene of economic growth, and they explore the many factors that influence industrial relations in their mode of development in diverse cultural milieus with different political settings.

M.J.V.

**INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR AND GROUP ACHIEVEMENT.** By Ralph M. Stogdill. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959, pp. vi+352.

The author attempts to combine theory with experimental evidence. The main objective is to develop a theory of social achievement. In doing so, a vast amount of theoretical literature and research reports was canvassed. A total of 794 references are cited. The underlying assumption is that "a social group can be described in terms of performances, interactions, and expectations of the members." In analyzing the structure of organizational achievement, the member "inputs" (behavioral performances, interactions, and expectations) are described, followed by an analysis of mediating variables, including both formal and role structures. The group outputs or achievements consist of productivity, morale, and integration. Even though performances, interactions, and expectations are exhibited by varying degrees of independence, there is a wholeness and continuity of behavior. The achievements of the group represent a totality of the outcomes it experiences as the result of the interrelationships of the types of outputs. Thus, a group is an input-output system. The input variables in combination account for the development of the structure of the group and for the initiation and maintenance of group operations.

This attempt to develop a theory based upon research findings is a large undertaking. The theoretical frame of reference is mainly social psychological. Sociological findings are used to explain how member roles emerge in social groups. The study is psychological in that it seeks to explain how the behavior of individuals exerts effects upon the group.

M.H.N.

**PARENTAL AUTHORITY: THE COMMUNITY AND THE LAW.** By Julius Cohen, Reginald A. H. Robson, and Alan Bates. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1958, pp. xii+301.

A joint team from the fields of law and sociology, using parental authority as a test area, have developed a unique and reliable instrument that can be used in future studies to measure the community's moral sense in relation to the law. Among the issues investigated are the parental authority to control the child's property or earnings, to determine whether or not the child may have a college education, to determine the child's religious affiliation, his career, to refuse consent to his



marriage, etc. Some questions deal with the willingness to grant autonomy to the child, and others concern familial versus governmental financial support of family members.

In about two thirds of the issues investigated the community viewpoint disagrees with that of the law. The investigators were therefore led to consider other related questions—for example, whether the community would grant more freedom from parental control than the law now permits. It was also found essential to learn whether people differ in their views because of variations in social backgrounds, whether urban and rural views may differ, whether Protestant views differ from those of Catholics, and whether such factors as sex, age, schooling, income, and kind of job make for difference in people's views toward the law. The practical value of research of this kind becomes obvious at once, and the authors are to be commended for their insight and initiative.

J.E.N.

SOZIOLOGIE. Vol. II: Die Vollzahl der Zeiten. By Eugen-Rosenstock-Huessy. Stuttgart, Germany: W. Kohlhammer, 1958, pp. 774.

The author (whose first volume has already been reviewed in this Journal) aims to give answers, desired by the youth of Germany as well as elsewhere, with respect to the crises and armed conflicts which the world has undergone. The first part, entitled "Die Wiederkehr der Erlebnisse" (the return of the experiences and events from Augustinus to the present), traces our present-day mores—such as the calendar, structure and ethics of the family, architecture—back to the old days, and compares tensions of bygone days with present ones. The second part, entitled "Der Gang der Erlebnisse" (the course of events), deals with new events of mankind, the Uralphabet of political forms: tribe, nation, people, the public, and the genius.

The second volume has an encyclopedic nature and demonstrates the author's universal thinking, knowledge, and feeling. If one accepts a limited definition of "sociology," the title is correct. Actually, however, the book's thinking goes far beyond sociology and presents a statement embracing thoughts of ancient and modern times, incorporating the knowledge, which in Germany was taught in *humanistische Schulen* (high schools with the majors in Latin and Greek) and which gave Germany the name of *Das Land der Dichter und Denker* (the country of the poets and philosophers). The absence of a bibliography and occasional footnotes may be noted.

HANS A. ILLING

**SOCIOLOGY, A SYNOPSIS OF PRINCIPLES.** Fourth Edition. By John F. Cuber. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1959, pp. xv+663.

The following changes in this new edition of Cuber's *Sociology* may be noted. New data and new treatment of data appear. The annotated bibliographies have been somewhat enlarged. A discussion of sociology as a profession has been added to the first chapter. The treatment of social stratification has been doubled. Deletions have been made in order to accommodate the new materials without unduly enlarging the size of the book. Although the term *principles* is an important part of the title of the book, it does not appear in the index. Sociology is defined as "a body of scientific knowledge about human relationships," but "principles of sociology" are not discussed, as such, and no classifications of them are given.

A.R.R.

**THE FAMILY AND POPULATION CONTROL. A Puerto Rican Experiment in Social Change.** By Reuben Hill, J. Mayone Stycos, and Kurt W. Black. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959, pp. xiii+481.

Puerto Rico is one of the world's most densely populated areas and the population is still increasing. The declining death rate without comparable changes in the birth rate accounts for the steadily increasing population. The possibilities of fertility control have been the concern of government planners, population scientists, and civic-minded citizens. The study of family life and population control was designed to ascertain the prevailing conditions and to develop an integrated research program for understanding and controlling the fertility aspects of population growth. Practical research and population theory were combined to spell out the details for a public policy in fertility control. The basic data were obtained by a variety of research methods. The survey of the prevailing conditions included field experiments based on sampling methods.

After an introductory section in which the demographic setting, the development of the research project, and previous studies are described, the authors present detail data regarding family size preferences, fertility planning, and the incidence of birth control. This is followed by a description of the steps toward a model of family dynamics, experimental validations in field studies, and the implications of the findings for future programs in fertility control.

Explanations for the country's high birth rate, such as the desire for

large families, religion, ignorance of contraceptive methods, or unavailability of materials, are shown to be inapplicable; yet the birth rate is declining very slowly and remains higher than in most countries. The focus of the study was the treatment of population control as a phenomenon of family planning and action. The key to the understanding and control of the fertility rate seems to lie in the decisions of husbands and wives and in the methods by which they solve their problem.

M.H.N.

**READINGS IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY.** Third Edition. By Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1958, pp. xi+674.

This new and third edition of the well-established *Readings in Social Psychology* emphasizes a number of changes that have left their impressions recently upon the field herein covered. Most important, perhaps, is the attention bestowed upon the added inclusions of empirical research materials relevant to the theoretical expositions. The organization of the readings has not been altered from the previous editions so far as the major headings are concerned, but, say the editors, "the arrangement of articles" is more "eclectic; less systematic," for the reason that "there is no single organizing concept nor theoretical point of view that would be satisfactory to all." The selections have been chosen with an eye on what they purport to represent. One of the latest meritorious selections is an article by Edgar H. Schein entitled "The Chinese Indoctrination Program for Prisoners of War: A Study of Attempted Brainwashing." Another welcome article pertains to the epidemiology of a new drug rehearsed in "Social Relations and Innovation in the Medical Profession." Still another good piece of reporting may be found in Yarrow, Campbell and Yarrow's "Interpersonal Dynamics in Racial Integration." An excellent presentation in the area of the perception of persons may be found in "Changes in Social Perception as a Function of the Personal Relevance of Behavior," by Jones and de Charms. Kurt Lewin is represented by an article written shortly before his death. It has been labeled "Group Decision and Social Change," and reports upon experiments on group decisions, these being defined as representing a process "of social management or self-management by groups." The new edition is sure to find a useful place upon social-psychological shelves, pointing as it does to the evolutionary development and growth of social psychology.

M.J.V.

**THE ATOM AND THE ENERGY REVOLUTION.** By Norman Lansdell.  
New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958, pp. 200.

The object of this study was to present in brief a broad, balanced appreciation of the role of atomic energy in the world of today and tomorrow. The author first considers the present world position of energy resources and demands, and new sources of energy being developed. The rest of the report deals with significant elements in what may be called the atomic culture complex—the methods of releasing atomic energy, the development of natural materials for atomic energy, the applications made of atomic energy, the present status of development of atomic power by specific countries, and both international and national organizations for atomic energy development. Radiation risks and insurance proposals also are considered. The book as a whole is a valuable contribution to the study of technological change.

J.E.N.

**SOCIOLOGY TODAY: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS.** By Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard Cottrell, Jr., Editors. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959, pp. xxv+623.

An attempt is made in this new work to point out the trends, unsolved problems, and future prospects of contemporary sociology. The volume of articles was prepared under the auspices of the American Sociological Society. The first section deals with the general theory of sociology and with methodological problems. This is followed by eight articles that emphasize the problems of the sociology of institutions, two that deal with the group and the person, seven which emphasize demographic behavior and aspects of social structure, and five devoted to selected applications of sociology. Altogether, twenty-seven contributors participated in the preparation of the volume, each of them recognized as an authority on certain phases of sociological theory, methodology, and application.

It is difficult to appraise fully a work of this type. Obviously, there are differences in the quality of the various chapters, and one may find objections to certain details or to the general thesis of a particular article. Even though an effort was made to select sociologists with widely different training and emphasis, it is obvious that certain "schools of thought" predominate. Some of the contributors are vigorous exponents of the theories presented.

The wide range of subjects covered indicates the growing specialization in the field of sociology. "The book treats most but not all of the

more than thirty sociological specialties." With the increasing number of areas of research and theory, it is necessary to periodically integrate at least some of the major theoretical and methodological developments. The present volume serves a useful purpose in that the main phases of concern are described and analyzed briefly and attention is called to developments in the specialized fields. The book obviously was prepared for sociologists, but others who wish to keep abreast with new developments in sociology will find this book stimulating and enlightening.

M.H.N.

**MENTAL SUBNORMALITY. Biological, Psychological, and Cultural Factors.** By Richard L. Masland, Seymour B. Sarason, and Thomas Gladwin. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958, pp. 442.

Calling mental subnormality the most significant handicap that affects more than 142,000 of the children born annually in the United States, the authors of this book have dedicated themselves to the task of presenting some of the salient results of research into its causal factors. The research was sponsored by the National Association for Retarded Children and was undertaken jointly by three professional men representing medicine, psychology, and anthropology. The organization of the report includes an introduction and two parts entitled "The Prevention of Mental Subnormality" and "Psychological and Cultural Problems in Mental Subnormality." Part I, written by Dr. Masland, deals with those "factors which produce anatomical or chemical abnormalities of the nervous system." One of these factors is that which deals with the chemical changes forming the basis of genetically produced human variations and abnormalities occurring in association with genetically determined disorders of the nervous system. This excursion into the genetics involved in mental subnormality will be of profound interest to eugenists, educators, and marriage counselors as well as social psychologists.

Part II, by psychologist Sarason and anthropologist Goodwin, gives the results of research into the psychological and cultural problems affecting subnormality. Concerned primarily with the "sources of retardation rooted in the individual and his environment," the reports reveal the involvements of society and the ways in which mental retardation is defined, perceived, and reacted to by society. In what ways do cultural factors sometimes interfere with normal development? This phase of the problem has not been systematically studied, and the authors

conclude with a plea for the "establishment of a fully staffed research unit to investigate the problems of mental subnormality through the full range of its medical, biochemical, psychological, social, and other aspects. These well-presented findings are significantly important guideposts for future research projects dealing with this crucial problem.

M.J.V.

**TELEVISION AND THE CHILD.** *An Empirical Study of the Effects of Television on the Young.* By Hilde T. Himmelweit, A. N. Oppenheim, and Pamela Vince. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1958, pp. xxxv+522.

This study, financed by and published for The Nuffield Foundation (a British Ford-like foundation), is the most comprehensive and thoroughgoing research undertaking that has thus far been made to ascertain the effects of television broadcasting on children and young people. The series of studies reported in this book were carefully planned and carried out by a staff of research experts and by many cooperating individuals and organizations. The basic material was derived from a detailed examination of the reactions of over 4,000 children to television programs. Five English cities cooperated in the project. The observations of teachers and parents were used to supplement the basic data gotten from the children by means of diaries, questionnaires, and interviews. The project was originally planned in 1954, but the main survey was conducted in 1955 and in subsequent years. In one of the cities it was possible to examine children before and after television had come to the area to any appreciable extent. This made it possible to compare an experimental (television-viewing) group with a control (nonviewing) group.

The design of the study was carefully planned after a review of previous studies of the impact of television and other mass media of communication and entertainment. It was found that the types or areas of effects are chiefly the displacement effects (activities dropped after television came) and the effects of program content, including the influence that television may exert on children's knowledge and school performance, and on their outlook and values. Other areas of effects included the family life of these children and the emotional reactions of the children themselves.

The "Child Audience" is described in detail, including the first viewers, the amount of viewing, favorite programs, actual choice of programs, patterns of taste, and the attractions of viewing. The major

portion of the research report deals with the reactions of children to conflict, crime, and violence on television; effects on children's values and outlook; effects on knowledge and school performance, including general knowledge, recall of information, cultural interests, and school work; effects on leisure and interests, including patterns of leisure, reading, radio and cinema, and other leisure activities; and certain special effects.

It is impossible to give a résumé of the findings in this review, for the "Summary of Main Findings" covers twenty-four pages, and three additional chapters are devoted to implications and suggestions that grew out of the study. The first to buy television sets are those with the strongest need for ready-made entertainment. After a family has a television receiving set, the children spend from 11 to 13 hours a week viewing programs, which is more time than that devoted to any other single leisure activity. However, the popular image of children "glued to television sets" did not fit the facts. Most children viewed reasonably selectively. The higher the child's intelligence, the less his viewing. For many children, except the television fans, television is something to fall back on when nothing more interesting is available. The social level of the home proved of little importance, except that the younger children of the working class view more than those of the middle-class families. Viewing rapidly becomes a habit. About three quarters of the children studied favored adult rather than children's programs. Their taste in television reflects their taste in other mass media. Where two channels (BBC and ITV) are available, the children were found to be more selective. Television appeals in different ways to different children, but its chief appeal lies in its easy availability and its subsequent value as a time filler.

The staple fare of the evening television broadcasts consists chiefly of Westerns, crime, and adventure. Drama plays an important part in broadcasts. Westerns tend to frighten the very young and the insecure; but detective, murder, and crime thrillers often frighten the older as well as the younger children. Viewers of these types of programs are not necessarily more aggressive or maladjusted than the nonviewers. While *Fabian of the Scotland Yard* was the first favorite, as many as two thirds of the children mentioned a variety of other favorites. The study seems to indicate that gains in knowledge come mainly from noninformation programs. Most viewers held their own with classmates of similar age, sex, social class, and intelligence in their school work. The findings suggest that viewing does not lead to poor concentration at school or



reduce interest in school. Children who have access to television listen less to radio. At first, there usually is less reading; but television, especially the dramatization of books, was found to stimulate reading. Television keeps members of the family at home more, but it is doubtful whether it actually binds the family together more closely, except physically. Sometimes it causes conflicts of choices of programs. Children do not "absorb television like a sponge," and it does not dull their imagination. Some programs were found to stimulate children's interests. A considerable proportion of the findings indicate that the way children react to television depends upon their intelligence, age, sex, and general personality make-up.

M.H.N.

**THE FOUNDATIONS OF CAPITALISM.** By Oliver C. Cox. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959, pp. 500.

The author of this study is particularly concerned with the structural designs of capitalist societies, their integration in a world-wide system, and their cultural potentialities. Part I deals with the historical origins of capitalism. The city of Venice is dealt with at length as the progenitor of capitalism, with further development attributed to Florence, Genoa, the Hanseatic League, Amsterdam and other Dutch cities. Part II describes the process of expansion of capitalist society into the modern nation and the place of industrialization. The principal topics in this part are the theoretical and practical considerations of nationalist ideology, English commercial and industrial strategy, mercantilism, and the Industrial Revolution. The work is not a traditional economic history, but is a more broadly social history of the capitalist system and the factors which influenced its development. The author combines the methods of social psychology, sociology, and history. The result is a readable and refreshing survey of a concept that needs revitalization—capitalism.

J.E.N.

**MODERN SCIENCE AND THE HUMAN FERTILITY PROBLEM.** By Richard L. Meier. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1959, pp. xiii + 263.

Accelerated population growth in the world today is looked upon, "barring war and revolution," as "the greatest single deterrent to economic development over the long run." Demographers and many social scientists concerned with human fertility have been duly alarmed by the so-called population bomb which has exploded upon the earth, giving rise to the estimate that the "overall growth rate has now reached one and

one-fourth percent per year, and that, therefore, should the rate continue for a half-century, the world population would come close to six billion persons." What is needed for the world then is the hand of science extended in the direction of finding a contraceptive cheap enough to place in the hands of people, coupled with another hand, that of philosophy, possibly to point out the essential change in values that must accompany the introduction of such a device. The author has made thoroughgoing analyses of the various implications and ramifications attendant upon the problem of reducing birth rates among the populations of both great and small nations. This reduction will be dependent in part upon what "laboratory scientists, administrative scientists, demographers, family sociologists, planners, and policy makers still need to do if economic improvement is ever to become possible for the densely populated resource-shy societies." The author introduces the research studies now being made in the field of oral contraceptives which may possibly hold out the promise of effectiveness and cheapness. Although he does not state it, policy makers might through taxation make considerable changes in birth rates.

M.J.V.

**RURAL SOCIOLOGY.** *An Analysis of Contemporary Rural Life.* By Alvin L. Bertrand, Editor, and Associates. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958, pp. xxix+454.

The editor and sixteen associates endeavored to produce a textbook that embodies some of the main trends in rural sociology. Some of the unique features of the book are the emphases on a sound theoretical frame of reference, a great reliance on current research findings, and the changing character of rural society. The introductory section is devoted to general sociological theory, including a consideration of social organization, rural-urban differentials, and rural social values and norms. The major portion of the book is devoted to a study of the rural population factors and locality groups (neighborhoods, communities, and regional areas); social differentiation and participation in rural areas; major social institutions; social processes and special interest groups; and social movements, including mass communication, in rural society. One of the special features of the book is the emphasis on the effects of technological developments.

Rural life has undergone tremendous changes during the present century. At the beginning of the century the population was predominantly rural. By 1957, only about 12.0 per cent of the population was classified as rural-farm, and this percentage is steadily declining; but

20.7 per cent were classed as rural-nonfarm, which group is slowly increasing. A considerable proportion of the farm population is concentrated in the South and in the Corn Belt. Even though the rural reproduction rate is still higher than the urban reproduction rate, farm people have steadily migrated to cities. Besides, the tremendous growth of the metropolitan areas has resulted in a spilling over of the urban population into the fringe and suburban areas, including areas formerly classified as chiefly agricultural territories. The authors emphasize the importance of the regional approach to the study of rural society, including the studies of the rural-nonfarm population and the suburbanization movement. Running through the book is the repeated emphasis on social change which has affected every phase of rural life.

The closing chapter is devoted to a concise review of rural sociology during the first half of the present century, especially its status and role at mid-century. Rural sociology has made great advances. The number and comprehensiveness of studies of rural society are increasing, and the focus of rural sociological research has been broadened to include rural-nonfarm and suburban groups. Rural societies in other lands are also studied with increasing frequency. Rural sociologists recognize that a thorough grounding in general theory and the use of scientific methods of research are essential for progress in this field. The authors conclude that if the nearly 500 members of the Rural Sociological Society of America were asked to specify the order of importance of the sociological roles they prefer to play, the chances are that they would list them in the following order: research, teaching, policy, and action. On the whole, this is one of the most thorough analyses available of rural society from the point of view of sociological theory and methodology.

M.H.N.

## OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

**TOWARDS A NEW WORLD.** By Richard Lombardi, S.J. New York: Philosophical Library, 1958, pp. 276.

**DIRECTORY OF FARMERS' COOPERATIVES IN WASHINGTON.** By Laszlo Valko. Pullman: Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations, State College of Washington, 1958, pp. 69.

**ESSAYS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE.** In Memory of Jacob Saposnekow. Edited by Henry Miller and Philip Shorr. New York: Jacob Saposnekow Memorial Volume Committee, 1958, pp. 157.

**STATISTICS OF ALCOHOL USE AND ALCOHOLISM IN CANADA, 1871-1956.** Compiled by R. E. Popham and W. Schmidt. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958, pp. xv+155.

**STATISTICS OF FARMER COOPERATIVES, 1955-56.** By Anne L. Gessner. Washington, D.C.: Farmer Cooperative Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, General Report 48, July 1958, pp. 74.

**MORAL PRINCIPLES IN EDUCATION.** By John Dewey. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959, pp. 61.

**THE GROWTH OF MODERN THOUGHT AND CULTURE.** By Herbert Wender. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959, pp. 215.

**THE D.A.R. AN INFORMAL HISTORY.** By Martha Strayer. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1958, pp. 262.

Although evidently eligible, the author has never joined the D.A.R., partly because she has wished to remain objective, as a reporter, to an organization, such as the D.A.R., which she has "covered" for "a longer period than any other American journalist." Consequently, while expressing appreciation of their good works, she also makes references to what she calls the "silly things" she has seen them do.

**THE VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION PROBLEMS OF DISABLED PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY.** By V. D. Sanua and Others. New York: New York University, 1957, pp. 69.

**ANTON SEMYONOVITCH.** An Analysis of His Educational Ideas in the Context of Soviet Society. By Frederic Lilje. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958, pp. 52.

# Sociology and Social Research

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL



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